# ELEMENTS

OF THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of the ROMANS

TO

The Reign of GEORGE the Second.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of


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ELEMENTS

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## OF THE
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# ENGLAND.

### CHARLES the Second.

ALL appearances promiſed to the monarch and his people, a reign equally glorious and ſucceſsful. Charles the ſecond, thirty years of age when he aſcended the throne, in the prime of life, inſtructed by his miſfortunes, perfectly acquainted with courts and with mankind, added to an uncommon degree of wit, penetration, and judgement, a mild and benevolent diſpoſition, a winning politeneſs, an enchant- A. D. 1660.

enchanting gaiety, and all thoſe noble and unaffected graces of deportment and converſation, which give additional luſtre to majeſty itſelf. One may judge of the character of a prince [*a*] by his choice of the perſons whom he honors with his confidence and favor. The council was at firſt compoſed of men reſpectable for their merit, choſen indifferently from amongſt the Preſbyterians and Royaliſts [*b*]. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, experienced how much the king's ſoul was ſuperior to the ingratitude ſo common in courts [*c*]. Sir Edward Hyde,

[*a*] Charles poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance, in the main, lively and engaging. HUME.

[*b*] Anneſley was created earl of Angleſea; Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis. The earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy ſeal. Calamy and Baxter, Preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

[*c*] Charles's diſpoſition, free from jealouſy, and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits, prevented all thoſe diſguſts which naturally ariſe in ſo delicate a ſituation. Morrice, his friend, was created ſecretary of ſtate. HUME.

created

created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime miniſter [*d*]. Few men were comparable to him in learning, or in virtue. The two houſes, ſtrictly united with the monarch, intitled at the beginning the *Convention*, becauſe ſummoned without his order, were conſtituted a parliament by a ſolemn act, and exerciſed their authority under this name.

Act of indemnity.

One of their principal cares was, to regulate the exceptions from the general amneſty. The upper houſe, actuated either by reſentment or by zeal, were deſirous to exclude many perſons. But Charles repreſented to them the ſacred promiſe he had given, to which he looked on himſelf as obliged for the happineſs he at preſent enjoyed, and inſiſted on clemency in a manner that was generally applauded. They only excepted the late king's judges, with Vane and Lambert, two furious Re-

[*d*] The marquis, created duke, of Ormond, was made lord ſteward of the houſehold; the earl of Southampton, high treaſurer; Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate; admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich.

publicans. Some others [e] were excluded, if they ſhould hereafter accept any public employments; and others only declared incapable of holding them. It had been difficult to ſhew more moderation towards ſuch a number of criminals.

Revenue. The revenue of the crown was at length fixed at twelve hundred thouſand pounds; a revenue ſuperior to that of the preceding monarchs. The public expences were alſo greatly increaſed ſince the courts of Europe, by the example of Louis the fourteenth, had adopted the maxim of keeping on foot numerous ſtanding armies. The maintenance of the fleet, with ſome other articles, which formerly coſt only eighty thouſand pounds, now required eight hundred thouſand. What advantage could reſult from this great augmentation of troops? The people were loaded with heavier impoſts, without the prince's being in effect more powerful. Small armies did anciently

[e] St. John, and ſeventeen others. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradſhaw, though dead, were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited.

what an hundred thouſand combatants do now.

The trial and execution of the regicides, cauſed an univerſal joy. Their firmneſs remained unſhaken, and there are few ſuch ſtriking examples of that blind obſtinacy which fanaticiſm inſpires. Harriſon told his judges, "that the pretended crime of which he ſtood accuſed, far from rendering him culpable, was an action commanded by Heaven itſelf; that, when in doubt, he had with tears, implored light and conviction from the Almighty, and had received inconteſtable aſſurances of his will; that human judgments were darkneſs, in compariſon with divine illuminations; that, having always reſolved to do no wrong, for any temporal intereſt however great, to the pooreſt man or woman on earth, he was certain of having followed the rules of an upright conſcience; that neither fear nor ambition had been able to draw from him the leaſt teſtimony of approbation, during the tyranny of Cromwell; that they had always ſeen him firm in his principles of religion and integrity; and

Trial of the regicides.

that ſuch a conduct could not be that of a villain and a murderer." All thoſe who were executed, to the number of ten [*f*], ſhewed the ſame courage. They regarded themſelves as martyrs. The extreme clemency of the king granted a reſpite to all the reſt. They diſperſed them in different priſons.

The army diſbanded.

There remained now only to diſband that dangerous army, whoſe daring enthuſiaſm had produced diſorders which might eaſily be renewed. The commons granted money, to pay theſe troops. Their martial air, and their exact diſcipline, ſtruck Charles, who would gladly have continued them, had not Clarendon convinced him of the inconvenience. He only

[*f*] Six of whom alone were the king's judges. Nineteen of the regicides ſurrendered on the king's proclamation; all of whom had their lives ſpared, except Scrope, who had lately in converſation defended the king's condemnation. The perſons executed were Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, ſix of the king's judges: with Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded at the king's execution, Coke, the ſolicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the furious fanatical preacher.

reſerved

reſerved a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, for guards and garriſons: the firſt example, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army. Charles, in a very gracious ſpeech, had before diſſolved the parliament. If ſome authors are to be credited, he might have obtained from them for life a revenue of two millions a year land tax, beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe; which would have rendered the crown independent. The ſame author adds, that, a member of the houſe of commons having made him this propoſal, he, by the chancellor's advice, rejected it [g]. *Your majeſty's beſt revenue*, ſaid this true citizen, *conſiſts in gaining the hearts of your people: with that fund, money will never fail you.* There is reaſon to think this offer of one of their members would not have been very agreable to the commons. They granted a great deal to the king, but with precautions which demonſtrate how

The parliament diſſolved.

[g] This offer is ſaid to have been made by Popham, a member of the houſe, to the earl of Southampton, who unwarily was at firſt inclined to accept it; but was convinced of its pernicious tendency by Clarendon.

much they had it at heart to maintain the rights of parliament.

Epiſcopacy reſtored.

As epiſcopacy was, in ſome meaſure, interwoven with the monarchy, and had never been aboliſhed by any lawful power, it was re-eſtabliſhed without violence, by the authority of the prince alone. In an affair ſo delicate, and ſo odious to the Preſbyterians, Charles at firſt ſhewed himſelf very moderate; and reſolved not to ſtrike at the liberty of conſcience which he had promiſed. The epiſcopal juriſdiction was reſtrained and limited; the liturgy cleared of whatever gave offence to the contrary parties; and every one was left at liberty to refuſe whatever wounded his principles. An inſurrection of the Millenarians, or Fifth-monarchymen, who iſſued out into the ſtreets of London, proclaiming *King Jeſus*, and defending themſelves with fury [*b*], furniſhed the miniſtry with a pretence for revoking this prudent in-

[*b*] They iſſued out, to the number of ſixty, completely armed, and headed by one Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt. One man, who, being queſtioned, ſaid he was for "God and king Charles," they inſtantly murdered.

dulgence.

dulgence. Thoſe who were executed inſiſted, to the laſt breath, *That if they were deceived, it was the Lord who had deceived them:* the proper language of fanaticiſm! Clarendon, above all other parties, hated the Preſbyterians, whoſe factious genius had occaſioned all the diſturbances of the kingdom. He only waited an opportunity to weaken them, and deſtroy their ſect. Prelacy, ſo abhorred in Scotland, was reſtored there as well as in England. They declared void and null that covenant formerly revered as ſacred. The Scots parliament witneſſed the moſt intire ſubmiſſion to the will of the monarch; but the body of the nation retained a leaven of diſcontent, which might one day produce the moſt fatal effects. Charles wiſhed to unite the Preſbyterians to the national church. A conference was held for that purpoſe [*i*]; which proved ineffectual, becauſe the two parties brought to it only their prejudices and obſtinacy, with the re-

[*i*] In the Savoy, between twelve biſhops and twelve of the principal Preſbyterian miniſters.

ſolution of yielding nothing on either ſide.

A. D. 1661. Parliament.

A new parliament, where they reckoned only fifty-ſix Preſbyterians in the lower houſe, ſignalized their zeal for the crown and the church. They voted it high treaſon, to attempt to impriſon, or depoſe the king; that to accuſe him of hereſy or of popery, or to endeavor by libels to alienate his ſubjects' affections, were offences ſufficient to incapacitate the perſons guilty, from holding any kind of employment; and that the power of the ſword reſted in him alone, and that it was not lawful even to uſe it againſt him for ſelf-defence. They ordered the covenant, and other republican acts, to be burned by the hands of the hangman. An act of uniformity was at length paſſed, which enacted, that every clergyman, who had not before received epiſcopal ordination, ſhould be re-ordained; that he ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the Covenant, and renounce the principle

ciple of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the king. This famous act was a clap of thunder to the Preſbyterians. Confounded with the other Non-conformiſts, and even with the Catholics, they found themſelves expoſed to the general penalties; after having ſeen Preſbyterianiſm the governing religion of the republic. The church of England was reſtored to its ancient ſtate; the penal laws were on the point of being revived; and the liberty of conſcience, ſo expreſly promiſed by the ſovereign, totally annihilated. Experience ſhewed the danger of theſe violent meaſures. They were attributed to the Catholics, who wiſhed to partake the toleration granted to the Preſbyterians, or to make the latter ſhare with them in the rigors of perſecution. The king, againſt his inclination, gave the royal aſſent to this bill. Clarendon was more concerned in it than any other perſon, and his zeal procured him many enemies. An extraordinary ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand pounds proved the attachment of the parliament; and they

alſo granted the king, for life, an impoſition of two ſhillings on every hearth. Rapin concludes from hence, that the parliament intended to render Charles independent. Hume, on the contrary ſays, that, notwithſtanding ſo conſiderable an augmentation, the revenue of the crown, during ſeveral years, did not exceed a million; a ſum inſufficient for the public expences [*k*].

A. D. 1662. Trial of Vane and Lambert.

Lambert and Vane were ſtill in priſon. They had not been perſonally concerned in putting Charles the firſt to death; but, their inveteracy againſt the crown having occaſioned their being excepted out of the act of indemnity, the Royaliſts eagerly demanded they ſhould be brought to a trial. They were at length tried. The charge againſt Vane regarded only his conduct ſince the king's exe-

[*k*] Before the parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. This princeſs brought the king a portion of 300,000 pounds; and the two fortreſſes, of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies. HUME.

cution, as a member of the council of ſtate, and ſecretary of the navy. He alledged in his defence, the neceſſity of obeying the eſtabliſhed government, however illegal it might be. "If this obedience is criminal," ſaid he; "when force ſhall have changed the government of a ſtate, all the nation muſt expect to periſh by the hands of the executioner. The uſurpers would puniſh one part for their fidelity to the depoſed princes; and the prince would puniſh the reſt for their ſubmiſſion to the uſurpers: that the legiſlature of England, foreſeeing this violent ſituation, had provided for public ſecurity by the famous ſtatute of Henry the ſeventh; in which it was enacted, that no man, in caſe of any revolution, ſhould ever be queſtioned for his obedience to the king in being: that it belonged not to private perſons, to diſcuſs the title of their governors. That, beſides, men of the greateſt probity having been divided in opinion between the king and the republic, could they condemn him for having embraced the party to which he was engaged by ſo holy

holy and indiſſoluble a bond as the Covenant?" Theſe arguments did not efface the remembrance of the ſeditious conduct of the accuſed. The judges held to the letter of the law. Vane, though naturally timid, met death with all the intrepidity of enthuſiaſm. He was the chief inſtrument of Strafford's death, and the laſt victim of theſe bloody diſputes. Lambert, condemned with him, obtained a reſpite. He lived thirty years after, more happy perhaps in his exile, than he had been in the thorny career of fortune [*l*].

Dunkirk ſold to France.

Every prince without œconomy, expoſes himſelf to the moſt mortifying neceſſities. It was the principal fault of Charles the ſecond, to love pleaſures to exceſs, and to laviſh money without meaſure to gratify his inclinations. The expences of the crown abſorbed immenſe ſums. He ought to have reſtrained himſelf on other articles, as much as a prudent policy permitted. The ſubſidy, the dowry of the new queen,

[*l*] In the iſland of Guernſey, to which he was confined.

Catherine

Catherine of Portugal, the two hundred thouſand pounds paid him by France, all was already ſwallowed up. The king had ſtill to pay the marriage portion of his ſiſter, the princeſs Henrietta, wife to the duke of Orleans. Preſſed by want of money, he ſold Dunkirk to France, for four hundred thouſand pounds. Clarendon himſelf approved this ſtep. The expence of maintaining the garriſon was ſaid to amount to an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year; and the advantages which then accrued from it bore no proportion to ſo burthenſome a charge. This ſtep, however, excited great murmurs. Louis the fourteenth rendered Dunkirk a port equally uſeful to his kingdom, and formidable to the Engliſh.

The Preſbyterian clergy ejected.

The act of uniformity produced a kind of eccleſiaſtical revolution. It was called the act of St. Bartholomew, becauſe the execution of it was fixed to the 24th of Auguſt, the feſtival of that Apoſtle. Without deſerving to be compared with the French St. Bartholomew, it gave a proof of the invincible obſtinacy of the

the enthuſiaſts. In one day, about two thouſand Preſbyterian miniſters reſigned their benefices, rather than ſign the articles enjoined by this act. The Engliſh clergy revenged their own perſecution, by becoming perſecutors. The Preſbyterians, in the time of their triumph, had left them the fifth of their benefices. They refuſed them this ſmall reſource, though demanded for them by the peers. The rigor of parliament went ſo far, in 1665, as to forbid them, under pain of ſix months impriſonment, and a fine of forty pounds, to come within five miles, except on a journey, of the places where they had officiated. This was to deprive them of the means of ſubſiſtence. So much rigor was inconſiſtent with the character and principles of the king. Though ſuſpected of indifference for every mode of religion, he inclined notwithſtanding to the Catholic, which he even probably embraced before his return to his dominions. His brother, the duke of York, with an inferior underſtanding, but more activity and ardor, was zealous for the Romiſh church,

church, and warmly ſolicited the king to grant a general toleration. The hardſhips ſuffered by the Preſbyterians furniſhed a plauſible pretence. Charles made uſe of it. He promiſed, in a declaration, to indulge ſcrupulous conſciences, who could not conform to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and, as the parliament was prorogued, he aſſured them, that in the approaching ſeſſion, he would endeavor to make them confirm this indulgence. The parliament, which was aſſembled ſome time after, far from approving the declaration, repreſented to the king, that his extreme lenity had brought into the kingdom, a great number of Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, and demanded an order for them to leave it immediately. They excepted all the foreign prieſts of the houſeholds of the two queens, the queen-mother being then in England, and thoſe who belonged to ambaſſadors. Charles publiſhed a proclamation conformable to their wiſhes; but, in reſpect to the prieſts, omitted the word *foreign*; and the protection of the queens was extended to the Engliſh as well as the reſt. The parliament granted four

four ſubſidies, the clergy as much, both being ſatisfied with the monarch's compliances.

A. D. 1664. War with Holland.

A war with Holland ſoon increaſed his neceſſities. The commons complained of the States, rather from jealouſy than any equitable cauſe. Envying them a commerce, which their œconomy rendered ſuperior to that of England, they impatiently ſought for an opportunity of weakening it. The duke of York [*m*], either from national intereſt, or hatred to a Proteſtant republic, urged his brother to break with them. Clarendon diſapproved this meaſure; but he had loſt much of his credit, and the moment of his diſgrace approached [*n*]. Some

[*m*] This prince had, ſoon after the Reſtoration, by the king's command, married the lady Anne Hyde, daughter to the chancellor; a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, who had, whilſt abroad, under a promiſe of marriage, admitted him to her bed.

[*n*] The king's favor for the Catholics was always oppoſed by Clarendon; public liberty was ſecured againſt all attempts of the over-zealous Royaliſts; prodigal grants were checked or refuſed; and the dignity of his own character was ſo much conſulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did alſo his friend Southampton, never to enter into any violences

violences of the Engliſh [o] were followed by reprizals. De Ruyter retook ſome places they had taken from the Dutch. Charles equipped a fleet, overlooking the work himſelf, running from one ſea-port to another, and encouraging the artificers by his preſence and liberality. A ſubſidy of near two millions and a half, the greateſt ever granted to any king of England, enabled him to make immenſe preparations. War was declared, though Holland omitted nothing to prevent it. John De Wit then governed this republic, in quality of grand penſionary. As brave as he was prudent, he armed againſt dangers which he could not avoid.

connexion with the royal miſtreſſes. The king's favorite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutcheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not, in her turn, to undermine Clarendon's credit with his maſter; and her ſucceſs was, at this time, made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was ſoon after created lord Arlington. HUME.

[o] On the coaſt of Guinea.

The

A. D. 1665. Naval engagements.

The Engliſh fleet, commanded by the duke of York, conſiſted of about an hundred and fourteen veſſels, and had on board two and twenty thouſand men. Opdam, the Dutch admiral, riſked a battle. His veſſel unhappily blew up; the Hollanders were defeated. De Wit came on board the fleet himſelf, and his genius prevented the ill conſequences of this misfortune. Louis the fourteenth, after having in vain attempted to reconcile the two nations, declared in favor of Holland, notwithſtanding Charles's offer, to abandon the Spaniſh Netherlands to his ambition, provided he would not oppoſe his conqueſts over the Dutch. Colbert had already begun the eſtabliſhment of a marine. The duke de Beaufort commanded a ſquadron of forty ſhips; the Hollanders [p] were approaching to join him. The Engliſh fleet, under the command of the duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert, was of ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle had the temerity to detach from it twenty veſſels, which he ſent againſt the

[p] Seventy-ſix ſail.

French.

French. With the reſt, he attacked the ſuperior force of the enemy. This furious combat continued four days, and the appearance of advantage was on the ſide of the Hollanders [q]. Their admirals, De Ruyter and Tromp, though divided by a party ſpirit, ſupported with equal vigor the intereſt of their country. The Engliſh ſoon returned to the attack. De Ruyter, though defeated, made a glorious retreat; but, enraged at being obliged to give way before the enemy, *My God! what a wretch am I!* exclaimed he. *Amongſt ſo many thouſand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miſerable life?* The Engliſh became, by this action, maſters of the ſea. Beaufort paſſed almoſt under their eyes, to ſeek the Dutch fleet; and, not finding it, had the good fortune to enter the harbor of Breſt, with only the loſs of one veſſel.

Plague and fire of London.

More than an hundred thouſand inhabitants of London had died the preceding year of the plague. A fire completed the deſolation of this

[q] This point has never been decided, both nations claiming the victory.

capital.

capital. It began in the houſe of a baker, and continued its ravages three days and three nights. Six hundred ſtreets, and more than thirteen thouſand houſes, were reduced to aſhes. The ſtreets were narrow, and moſt of the houſes built of wood. A favorable change was the conſequence of this diſaſter. London was ſoon rebuilt, with every advantage as to health and beauty. The plague, which was before very common, has never appeared there ſince. Such is the injuſtice of party hatred, that the moſt natural events appear to it premeditated crimes. Without reaſon, without proofs, the enemies to the Catholics attributed to them this dreadful calamity. At the ſolicitation of the lower houſe, Charles baniſhed all the prieſts and jeſuits; or rather, he made an ordinance for that purpoſe, the inexecution of which rendered his religion ſtill more ſuſpected.

A. D. 1667. Treaty of Breda.

This double ſcourge of the fire and the peſtilence, joined to the exceſſive expences of the war, and the little real profit drawn from it, inſpired him, as well as the nation, with the deſire of treating with Holland.

He

He made the firſt propoſals of accommodation. The Hollanders, who were enabled by their wealth and their marine to carry on the war with greater eaſe than England, offered this alternative, either that all things ſhould be reſtored to the ſame condition in which they ſtood before the war, or that both parties ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions. The latter offer was accepted; and nothing now remained in diſpute, except what related to the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies. Whilſt the negotiations were protracted at Breda, the penſionary contrived a blow to revenge with eclat the injuries ſuſtained by his country. As there was no ſuſpenſion of arms, he took advantage of the negligence of Charles, who, that he might pay his debts with the ſubſidies, contented himſelf with only equipping two ſmall ſquadrons. The Dutch fleet, commanded by De Ruyter, burnt ſeveral Engliſh veſſels in their very ports [r].

[r] The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of De Ruyter, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. They burned the Matthias, the Unity, the Charles

They

They even feared for London. But the treaty of Breda put an end to alarms, and devaſtation. The Engliſh had New York; the Hollanders, Polerone; and the French, Acadia.

Diſgrace of the earl of Clarendon.

So ruinous a war, terminated with ſo little advantage, having imbittered the reſtleſs humor of the Engliſh, Charles ſacrificed Clarendon to their clamor; that great and excellent miniſter, whoſe merit he had long reſpected, but whoſe virtue was become irkſome to him. In a diſſolute court, the incorruptible chancellor preſerved the utmoſt integrity of morals; he had no complaiſance for the king's miſtreſſes; conſtrained his pleaſures, and oppoſed his boundleſs prodigalities. The ungrateful people, leſs attentive to the good done them, than ſtruck by

the fifth, the Royal Oak, the London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded the Royal Oak, choſe to periſh in the flames, rather than leave his ſhip. "Never was it known," ſaid he, "that a Douglas had left his poſt without orders." The Dutch afterwards ſailed to Portſmouth and Plymouth, at both which places they were unſucceſsful: they inſulted Harwich, and ſailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed.

what

what diſpleaſes their humor, far from bearing any affection to Clarendon for this conduct, regarded him as the author of all their grievances. On one ſide, the Preſbyterians reproached him with perſecution, a reproach not abſolutely without foundation; on the other, the Catholics, knowing his zeal for the national church, deſpaired of obtaining a toleration under his miniſtry. Though the war with Holland was undertaken againſt his opinion, yet all the miſcarriages of it were attributed to him, becauſe they wiſhed to find him guilty. Southampton, the treaſurer, lately dead, had done juſtice to the chancellor. "This man," ſaid he, at the council board the laſt time he appeared there, "is a true Proteſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman; and whilſt he enjoys power, we are ſecure of our laws, liberty, and religion. I dread the conſequences of his removal." The ſeals were, notwithſtanding, taken from Clarendon [s]. A member [t] of the houſe

[s] And given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.
[t] Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward.

of commons opened the charge againſt him. The impeachment conſiſted of ſeventeen articles, the moſt important of which was the ſale of Dunkirk, as if imprudent advice was a capital crime. The upper houſe refuſed to commit him. But he choſe rather to retire than enter on his defence. The parliament paſſed a bill of baniſhment againſt him, which received the royal aſſent. He fixed his reſidence in France, where he lived ſix years. He employed his leiſure in compoſing the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, a work worthy a great ſtateſman and illuſtrious citizen. He had paſſed his youth in the ſtudy of the laws. His father, it is ſaid, often exhorted him earneſtly never to raiſe the prerogative at the expence of public liberty, and expired of an apoplexy in his preſence whilſt he was repeating this generous counſel: ſo terrible an accident impreſſed it deeply on his heart. His zeal for Charles the firſt was ever the zeal of an Engliſhman, attached to the principles of the national conſtitution.

Triple alliance.

If the king's conduct hitherto had excited many murmurs, the triple alliance drew on him the applauſes of his

his people. Louis the fourteenth, as haughty as he was powerful, paſſionately fond of every kind of glory, and eſpecially of that of conqueſt, the leaſt worthy of all others of the ambition of a prince, filled Europe with anxiety and terror. In ſpite of the renunciations made by his queen Maria Thereſa, of Auſtria, he had, with ſucceſs, invaded Flanders and Franche-Comté, pretending ſhe had a legal claim on theſe provinces. The States General were, with reaſon, alarmed; England trembled at the ſuperiority France was beginning to aſſume. Charles formed the project of a league. He employed Sir William Temple to negotiate it at The Hague. This philoſophical ſtateſman was ſoon on terms of the cloſeſt confidence with De Wit. Each poſſeſſed the ſame frankneſs, the ſame greatneſs of ſoul. It is not between miniſters of this character, that policy degenerates into fineſſe and chicane. They agreed to render their maſters mediators between France and Spain, and to compel them to make a treaty which ſhould leave to Louis the fourteenth a part of his conqueſts, but by which he ſhould promiſe to abandon

intirely the pretended rights of the queen. Sweden entered into this alliance. According to the laws of the Dutch republic, all the towns ought to have given their conſent to this treaty; a conſent which the intrigues of Louis the fourteenth might have been able to prevent. D'Eſtrades, his ambaſſador, when informed of the negotiation, ſaid, "We ſhall ſpeak to it ſix weeks hence." But De Wit, foreſeeing the hazard attending delays, and perſuaded that there are caſes where the public good ought to prevail even above the laws themſelves, of which it is the end and object, had the courage to determine the States to ratify the league the very day it was ſigned. Temple received the moſt flattering encomiums, and ſhewed a modeſty which heightened his merit. He replied to the praiſes laviſhed on him, "that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labor; but that they returned to it of themſelves." The peace of Aix-la-chapelle terminated the conqueſts of Louis the fourteenth." He retained thoſe he had made in the Low Countries; Franche-Comté was reſtored

ſtored to the Spaniards; and this monarch waited an occaſion to make the Hollanders, who had oppoſed his enterprizes, feel the weight of his diſpleaſure.

Though the triple alliance was very agreable to the Engliſh, it did not diſſipate the ſuſpicions which the conduct of Charles had excited. He flattered himſelf in vain with the hope of drawing from parliament ſupplies proportioned to his neceſſities. A new propoſal of toleration to the Non-conformiſts, inflamed the zeal of the commons, who inſtantly demanded a proclamation againſt conventicles. In order to have money, he was obliged to ſatisfy them. Their bill received the royal aſſent. Every member of a conventicle, or Non-conformiſt aſſembly, conſiſting of more than five perſons beſides the family where it was held, was condemned to pay a fine; and, contrary to the eſtabliſhed principle in criminal affairs, any doubt was to be interpreted in the leaſt favorable ſenſe. This rigor of the commons appeared the more ſtrange, as the ſame perſecuting ſpirit had lately occaſioned an in-

A. D. 1670. Act againſt conventicles.

ſurrection in Scotland. About two thouſand Scots Preſbyterians, after having renewed the Covenant, had taken arms; and extinguiſhed in blood a flame kindled by deſpair. But the church of England, and its votaries, were ſtill ignorant, as well as their adverſaries, of the bounds which juſtice and charity preſcribe to religious zeal. Some other proceedings of parliament diſpleaſed the king. They diſtruſted Charles, as he diſtruſted the reſt of mankind. A ſlave to his pleaſures, he neglected his affairs, and multiplied his embarraſſments. Perfidious counſels at length made him loſe ſight of all the rules of prudence, and expoſed him to a fatal revolution.

The cabal.

Five new miniſters ſhared his confidence: Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shafteſbury, diſtinguiſhed by his talents, and blindly governed by his paſſions; the duke of Buckingham, without principles, without conduct, but poſſeſſed of every advantage of genius, figure, and fortune; the duke of Lauderdale, learned, but obſtinate, a flatterer of the prince, a tyrant of the people; Sir Thomas Clifford, the

the bold impetuoſity of whoſe character hurried the minds of others rapidly along; and laſtly, the earl of Arlington, verſed in buſineſs, and worthy the place he filled, if he had had reſolution to follow his own ſentiments, rather than the deſtructive prejudices of the court. The two laſt were Catholics. This council was called the Cabal [u]. The event diſcovered their ſyſtem of policy, too conformable to the king's wiſhes, and above all to the inclinations of his brother, the duke of York. Charles, to free himſelf from the dependance in which he was held by the œconomy of parliament, and to extend his authority beyond the bounds which he had himſelf preſcribed, forgetting the intereſt of England, ſuddenly changed his views in reſpect to his neighbors. A ſtrict union with Louis the fourteenth, and a new war with Holland, appeared to him the infallible means of arriving at the end propoſed. Louis was to ſupport him with his treaſures and his armies;

New ſyſtem.

[u] A word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe.

mies; Holland, ſubdued, would be no longer an object of emulation to the Engliſh, jealous of their rights. Theſe ideas agreed perfectly with the policy of the king of France. The triple alliance oppoſed a barrier to his ambition. A journey, which he made to Dunkirk, accompanied by his court, ſerved as a pretext to cover the deepeſt deſigns. The dutcheſs of Orleans paid a viſit to her brother [w], over whom ſhe had a great aſcendant; in the midſt of feaſts and pleaſures, ſhe engaged him in an alliance againſt Holland. She left with him, as a miſtreſs, one of the ladies of her train, very capable of enſlaving his heart, Mademoiſelle Querouaille, on whom he ſoon after conferred the title of dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and to whom he was always extremely attached. The tragical death of the princeſs [x] did

Charles allies himſelf ſecretly with Louis.

[w] Charles came to Dover, where his ſiſter met him.

[x] Her death was ſudden; and her huſband, who reſented his not having been intruſted with this ſecret, was ſuſpected of having poiſoned her: but the ſuſpicion appears to have been ill-founded. She was one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of that, or, indeed, of any age.

not

not break theſe engagements. Sir William Temple was recalled, and the ſagacious De Wit began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of the king of England. Charles, however, in order to obtain ſubſidies, repreſented to his parliament, the augmentation of the French marine, and the neceſſity of equipping a conſiderable fleet, and fulfilling the obligations into which he had entered for the general good of Europe. The commons fell into the ſnare. Deceived by theſe falſe appearances, they granted him two millions, five hundred thouſand pounds. But the peers having made ſome amendments in the ſubſidy bill, the altercations which aroſe on this ſubject between the two houſes, obliged the king to prorogue them, and to loſe the money intended him.

Two faults of the king.

During this ſeſſion, he ſhewed an equal want of wiſdom and juſtice, in two affairs which made a great noiſe. A tax was propoſed on play-houſes. The courtiers objected, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry aſked, jeſtingly, "Whether the king's

pleaſure lay amongſt the male, or the female, players?" Charles really entertained ſome actreſſes [y], beſides his other miſtreſſes. Wounded with this ſtroke of raillery, he revenged himſelf in a manner unbecoming the dignity of his ſtation. Some of the guards attacked Coventry, diſarmed him, though he made a brave defence, and cut his noſe to the bone. The commons witneſſed their indignation, by an act which declared the aggreſſors incapable of a pardon from the crown [z]. About the ſame time, Blood, a diſbanded officer of Cromwell, after having ſtolen from the Tower the crown and all the regal ornaments, was arreſted, confeſſed his crime, and refuſed to name his accomplices. "The fear of death," he ſaid, "would never engage him, either to deny a crime, or to betray a friend." The king had a curioſity to ſee him; and Blood had the effrontery to tell him, "that, if he was executed, his aſſociates, who were very numerous, would

[y] Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwin.

[z] This act, called the Coventry act, made it capital to maim any perſon.

not

not fail to revenge his death." Whether from fear, or caprice, Charles not only pardoned him, but gave him an eſtate [*a*], received him at his court, and even treated him with diſtinction [*b*]; whilſt his faithful ſervants remained forgotten and unrewarded. Mankind with difficulty pardon princes the forgetfulneſs of ſervices; but eſpecially when they ſee them place their favors ſo unworthily [*c*].

[*a*] Of 500 pounds a year in Ireland.

[*b*] Whilſt Old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected; this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at, and deteſted as a monſter, became a kind of favorite. HUME.

[*c*] This daring villain had before engaged in an atrocious attempt on the duke of Ormond, who had offended him in Ireland. He attacked his coach, in the night, in St. James's-ſtreet, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon. Studying refinement in his vengeance, he was carrying the duke to Tyburn, in order to hang him, when he was reſcued by his ſervants. Buckingham was ſuſpected of being the author of this attempt. Lord Oſſory, ſon to Ormond, came ſoon after to court; and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the king, "My lord," ſaid he, "I know well, that you are at the bottom of the late attempt upon my father: but I give you warning, that if, by any means, he comes to a violent end, I

Theſe imprudences were only the forerunners of more dangerous ones. The duke of York, by declaring himſelf a Catholic, awakened the former diſcontents of a people, who were tranſported with rage at the very name of popery. The king, by ſuſpending the penal laws, the maintenance of which the parliament had ſo much at heart, gave reaſonable ſuſpicions of his inclination for arbitrary power, ſo juſtly held in abhorrence by the nation. By ſhutting up the exchequer, he interrupted commerce, ruined a great number of families, and ſpread a general diſtruſt and conſternation. His ſubjects could not yet perſuade themſelves that he had conſpired, with Louis, the deſtruction of the Dutch.

War with Holland.

His deſigns at length unveiled themſelves. The captain of a yacht [*d*]

ſhall not be at a loſs to know the author: I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin; I ſhall treat you as ſuch, and wherever I meet you, I ſhall piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majeſty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall not fail of performance."

[*d*] Diſpatched for lady Temple; who deſired the captain to obey his orders, without letting his fears for her prevent his inſiſting on the honors of the flag.

had

had orders to inſiſt on making the whole Dutch fleet, through which he muſt paſs, ſtrike, and to fire on them in caſe of a repriſal. The Smyrna fleet, which was bringing to Holland a million and a half in ſpecie, was attacked by an Engliſh ſquadron, which it glorioufly repulſed. A declaration of war followed theſe hoſtilities. Nothing could be more frivolous than the cauſes alledged. Charles inſiſted on ſome *abuſive* pictures painted in Holland. The States General were a long time before they could divine what thoſe pictures were. The reference was to a portrait of Cornelius De Wit, brother to the penſionary, who had ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral naval expeditions. In the background of this picture, the painter had drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbor. This was the injury which was to be revenged by arms. Louis, with more dignity, but without any ſolid reaſons, alledged no other cauſe for engaging in the war, than his diſpleaſure at the conduct of the States.

Two factions unhappily divided Holland; that of the De Wits, inflexible

Two factions in Holland.

flexible Republicans, who, in 1667, had cauſed the houſe of Orange to be for ever excluded the Stadtholderſhip; and that of the prince of Orange, William the third, who aſpired to the authority which his anceſtors had enjoyed in the republic. This prince, aged about twenty-one, was capable of the greateſt things, by the ſolidity of his judgement, the gravity of his manners, and his application to buſineſs. John De Wit had given him an excellent education, to enable him, at the hazard of his own greatneſs, to ſerve his country, if the government ſhould one day change its face. In this terrible conjuncture, at the approach of the violent ſtorm which threatened the republic, William was created generaliſſimo and admiral, but without having any ſhare in the civil authority. They gave him an army of ſeventy thouſand men, new troops, whom their want of experience and diſcipline rendered it eaſy to defeat. The marine had engaged the penſionary's whole attention; and, not foreſeeing the danger of a ſudden invaſion, he had not applied himſelf to the means of preventing it.

The

The naval battle of Solebay ſupported the honor of the republic. De Ruyter, with eighty-one men of war, and forty-five fire-ſhips, attacked the combined fleets of England and France [e], under the command of the duke of York and marſhal D'Eſtrees. The duke of York [f], after having long ſtood a terrible fire, was obliged to change his ſhip. The loſs was nearly equal on both ſides. As the French

[e] The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent poſture.

[f] The earl of Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, 'tis ſaid, ſuch an anſwer, as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions.—He killed Van Ghent, the Dutch admiral, and beat off his ſhip; he ſunk another ſhip, which ventured to lay him aboard: he ſunk three fire-ſhips, which endeavored to grapple with him; and though his veſſel was torn in pieces with ſhot, and of a thouſand men ſhe contained, near ſix hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued ſtill to thunder with all his artillery in the midſt of the enemy. But another fire-ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape, and bravely embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the duke, he thought, had thrown on him. HUME.

took ſcarce any ſhare in the action, it was ſuppoſed they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, whilſt the two Maritime Powers ſhould mutually weaken each other. Louis the fourteenth at the ſame time, at the head of a formidable army, having with him the moſt famous generals of the age, paſſed the Rhine, and carried terror into the very boſom of Holland. The provinces of Utrecht, of Gueldres, and Overyſſel, were conquered in one campaign. Amſterdam was on the brink of ruin. The States implored the compaſſion of their conqueror. If he had impoſed ſuch conditions as were ſupportable, the republic would have ſubmitted. An exceſs of rigor revived their courage, by inſpiring them with deſpair. De Wit, notwithſtanding, perſiſted in his oppoſition to the naming a ſtadtholder. The people, imputing theſe diſaſters to his counſels, and regarding the prince of Orange as the only bulwark of his country, roſe in a fury, and forced the magiſtrates to acknowledge the prince for ſtadtholder. Aſſaſſins attacked the penſionary in the ſtreet: Cornelius De Wit, accuſed by an

The prince of Orange ſtadtholder.

Maſſacre of the De Wits.

an impoſtor [g], ſuffered the moſt cruel tortures, repeating, at the ſame time, an Ode of Horace, which expreſſed the heroic ſentiments of a true citizen [h]. His brother went to ſee him in priſon, determined to ſhare his fate [i]. The furious populace purſued them, tore them in pieces, and exerciſed a thouſand barbarities on the dead bodies. William, become maſter of the ſtate, ſhewed himſelf worthy of governing it: he exhorted the citizens to conſtancy; convinced them, that the other ſovereigns of Europe would not fail to aſſiſt them; repreſented to them, "that it was in vain to endeavor to diſarm, by ſubmiſſion, ambitious enemies who kept no meaſures; that this was the time to ſacrifice all to that precious liberty, cemented by the blood of their anceſtors; that, as to himſelf, he would tread in the ſteps of his fore-

[g] One Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accuſed Cornelius De Wit, of endeavoring by bribes to engage him in the deſign of poiſoning the prince of Orange. HUME.

[h] Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, &c. &c.

[i] The judge had condemned him to baniſhment.

fathers,

fathers, and devote himſelf without reſerve to the ſervice of the republic." Buckingham (ſent by Charles the ſecond) aſking prince William, "if he did not ſee the republic was infallibly ruined?" *There is one certain means*, replied he, *by which I can be ſecure never to ſee my country's ruin: I will die in the laſt ditch.*

A. D. 1673. Seſſion of parliament.

Holland, drenched in thoſe waters of which ſhe had had the courage to make a rampart againſt the French, hoped the parliament of England would declare in her favor, and that the viſible intereſt of the nation would prevail over the ambitious views of the court. During about two years, the king, by affected delays, had delivered himſelf from the vexations which this parliament had given him. Want of money obliged him to reaſſemble them. His ſpeech to the two houſes, full of confidence and cordiality, diſguiſed the real inclinations of his heart. Shafteſbury, whoſe pernicious counſels had been rewarded with the dignity of chancellor, expatiated on the neceſſity of carrying on a war againſt a republic, the natural enemy of the Engliſh.

"The

"The parliament," he ſaid, "had themſelves acknowledged that *Carthage muſt be deſtroyed*; and that the preſent war might with more propriety be called the war of the parliament, than of the king." The commons, though in no very favorable diſpoſition, granted the king a ſupply [*k*]; but they obliged him to purchaſe it by extraordinary acts of complaiſance. The chancellor, by his own authority, contrary to the uſage eſtabliſhed ſince the parliament of 1604, had expedited writs for the election of new members, in the room of thoſe who were dead. The commons declared theſe elections null, and the members then elected, voluntarily retired. They next attacked the declaration of indulgence of 1662, which ſuſpended the penal laws againſt the Non-conformiſts and Catholics. The commons thought it tended to alter the conſtitution, and change the legiſlative power, which the two houſes ſhared with the king. Charles was,

[*k*] Eighteen months aſſeſſment, at the rate of £. 70,000 a month, amounting in the whole to £. 1,260,000.

at

at firſt, determined to ſupport this meaſure; he promiſed himſelf, if wanted, both the money and troops of Louis the fourteenth. But would it be prudent to break with the parliament, to expoſe himſelf to a new civil war? The ſight of thoſe dangers, which he ought to have foreſeen at a greater diſtance, ſhook his reſolution. His natural indolence, the love of eaſe and of pleaſure, made him give way in ſo critical a conjuncture. After having conſulted the peers, that he might yield with a greater appearance of deliberation, he tore with his own hand the ſeal from the declaration which had given ſuch offence, and promiſed to agree to all the bills they ſhould paſs to remedy abuſes. He gave the royal aſſent to the *Teſt Act*, by which every perſon, who accepted any public employment, was obliged, beſides the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, to take one againſt tranſubſtantiation. Thus all the Catholics were excluded from employments, and the duke of York himſelf reduced to quit the command of the fleet. A precipitate attempt in their favor, became, by this event, the

the ſource of greater inconveniences. The earl of Shafteſbury was the principal author of the deſigns formed againſt the court. When he had ſeen the king retract his declaration, judging that the oppoſition would ſoon get the aſcendant, he ſhameleſsly embraced their party; and his deſertion rendered him more dangerous, than he was before by his arbitrary counſels. The ſeals were taken from him. The parliament, who could not be brought to approve of the war, granted a ſubſidy; but expreſſed, that it was *for the king's extraordinary occaſions*.

Treachery of Shafteſbury.

The Hollanders now began to take breath. The emperor, and Spain, undertook their defence. Louis, not following the advice of Condé and Turenne, to raze the places he had taken, weakened by a too great number of garriſons, was conſtrained to evacuate the three conquered provinces. De Ruyter, though inferior in force to the combined fleets, maintained three naval fights, with that glory which always accompanied him. Charles aſſembled the parliament.

ment [l]. Seeing them diſpoſed to cenſure the adminiſtration, and to grant no more ſubſidies for a war ſo generally odious, he ſuddenly made peace. A treaty of commerce was concluded with the Dutch, who yielded the honors of the flag, and agreed to pay him about three hundred thouſand pounds. The Engliſh, ſays Rapin, paid the expence of this war, of which the king reaped all the fruits. He left ten thouſand men in the ſervice of France. Attached by inclination to this crown, he pleaded to Louis the fourteenth the neceſſity which had detached him from his alliance, and offered his mediation for a general peace.

A. D. 1674. Peace with Holland.

Sir William Temple was ſent ambaſſador to Holland: before his departure, he had the courage to repreſent to the king, the inconveniences of the ſyſtem adopted by the cabal: and how difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, it was to eſtabliſh in England the government and religion of France;

[l] Some time before this meeting of parliament, the duke of York was married to the princeſs of Modena.

that

that it was impracticable to change, in ſo ſhort a time, the genius and principiples of a people; and that it was by force of arms alone the Engliſh could be brought to bend under a yoke which they held in horror. And what appearance was there of ſucceſs this way? The Catholics did not make the hundredth part of the nation; foreign troops could not be levied and maintained in any conſiderable number; and, if they were in ſmall numbers, they would only ſerve to excite hatred and rebellion. At length, he reminded him of thoſe words of Gourville, a French gentleman, greatly eſteemed by Charles the ſecond: "A king of England, who will be *the man of his people*, is the greateſt king in the world: but if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at all." This diſpleaſed the king; but being a dextrous diſſembler, "And I will," ſaid he, "be *the man of my people*." We ſhall ſoon ſee by the effects, how little ſincerity there was in this reply. His mediation did not hinder the allies from puſhing the war with vigor. The prince of Orange found his account, both as to his glory and intereſt,

tereſt, in prolonging it. He almoſt equalled the great Condé in the battle of Seneff. Condé ſaid of him, "The prince of Orange has acted in every thing like an old captain, except in venturing his life too like a young ſoldier." The conqueſt of Franche-Comté, and the exploits of Turenne in Germany, confounded the hopes of the enemies of Louis the fourteenth.

A. D. 1675. Parliamentary diſputes.

In a new ſeſſion of parliament, the commons, always diſtruſtful of the king's ſentiments, paſſed ſeveral bills which gave great uneaſineſs to the court. The other party exerted themſelves in the upper houſe, and introduced a bill there, which required all members of parliament, as well as all perſons in any public office, to ſwear, "that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; that they abhorred the traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him; and that they will not, at any time, endeavor the alteration of the Proteſtant religion, or of the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate." Great op-

position was made to this bill; some persons insisting that it was founded on false principles, and others that it would only serve to awaken dangerous disputes. Even in the house of lords, it was only carried by two voices. The opposition would have been much stronger in the lower house, but an unforeseen quarrel between the two houses suspended the bills. Dr. Shirley having appealed to the lords from a decree in chancery in favor of Sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, and the peers having received the appeal, the lower house pretended it was a violation of their privileges; that none of their members could be cited before the peers; and that they had not even a power to receive appeals. Both sides grew warm: and Charles, having more to fear than to hope from this parliament, determined on a long prorogation.

The coffee-houses shut up, and opened again.

The liberty of censuring the government was exercised with particular freedom in the coffee houses, which were always crowded. He forbad them by a proclamation; as if it had been possible to calm the minds of

the people by giving them a new ſubject of complaint. The diſcontents increaſed. The keepers of coffee-houſes promiſed no longer to ſuffer any ſeditious diſcourſe. On this condition they were again opened.

Power of Louis the fourteenth.

Louis ſtill ſupported the ſuperiority of his arms. Though Turenne had been killed by a cannon ball, though Condé had quitted the command, France preſerved her advantages; and the defeat of the marſhal de Crequi, at Conſarbrik near Treves, was almoſt the only misfortune of this kind ſhe had experienced in the courſe of ſixty years. The Engliſh, jealous of this formidable power, burned with impatience to humble it. Whilſt they negotiated at Nimeguen, the parliament made every effort to engage the king to take arms. The moſt liberal ſubſidies were to be the reward of his compliance. Theſe offers of money were a powerful bait. He appeared to yield to the wiſhes of the public. He granted the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of York, in marriage to the prince of Orange; he

he gave ſome demonſtrations of firmneſs in reſpect to France; he even, with the aſſiſtance of parliament, made preparations for war. But always wavering, irreſolute; ſometimes gained by the promiſes of Louis, ſometimes ſtopped by the charms of pleaſure, he neither anſwered the expectations of the Engliſh, nor of the confederates. The States General, againſt the inclination of the prince of Orange, concluded a peace with Louis. They ſecured to him Franche-Comté, and ſeveral towns in Flanders. Spain, and the Empire, after great clamors, accepted the conditions preſcribed to them. This treaty, ſigned at Nimeguen, filled up the meaſure of the proſperity of France.

A. D. 1678. Peace of Nimeguen.

Scotland had, for the laſt ten years, groaned under a tyrannical government. Charles had ſent thither the duke of Lauderdale, in quality of his commiſſioner; and this miniſter had engaged the Scots parliament, not only to declare that all which regarded the exterior government of the church, was a right of the crown, but to ſet on foot a body of militia of twenty-two thouſand men, who

Affairs of Scotland.

were to be held in readineſs to march, whenever the power or greatneſs of the ſovereign required. Charles was not more by nature a friend to toleration, than Lauderdale ardent for perſecution, the worſt of all remedies againſt the Preſbyterian fanaticiſm ſpread over the whole kingdom. The detail of his violences would extend to infinity; therefore we will only relate one or two inſtances. Becauſe the law which forbad conventicles called them *ſeminaries of rebellion*, he treated as rebels the inhabitants of ſeveral counties where conventicles were moſt common: the troops which he ſent thither committed the moſt horrible diſorders. According to a law of the country, every accuſed perſon, who did not ſurrender himſelf to juſtice, might be condemned for contumacy, and outlawed; and whoever had afterwards any communication with the proſcribed perſon, on pretence of affinity, or even of charity, was ſubjected to the penalties incurred by the criminal. This law, too odious to be put in execution, was made a pretext of a great number of proſcriptions. All

was a prey to the rapacity of the duke and dutcheſs of Lauderdale; every thing was venal, and nothing eſcaped the moſt deteſtable oppreſſion. The rage of the people daily increaſed. Fearing leſt the cries of the public might reach the ear of the prince, Lauderdale forbad all who poſſeſſed eſtates, to quit Scotland.

Some lords, notwithſtanding, carried their complaints to the foot of the throne [*m*]. Charles, if we may believe Burnet, a ſatyrical author, whom we ought to read with ſome caution, ſaid on this occaſion, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, that he has acted any thing contrary to my intereſt." When the prince diſtinguiſhes his intereſt from that of his people, he ought not to be ſurprized, that his people have an intereſt different from that of their prince.

The relation of theſe violences had a great effect on the minds of the

[*m*] Caſſills firſt, afterwards Hamilton, and Tweedale.

Popiſh plot.

Engliſh. Full of ſuſpicions, convinced that Charles's connexions with Louis tended to the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, and the Romiſh religion [*n*], they lent an ear to all the extravagances which confirmed their ſuſpicions. Hatred is fooliſhly credulous. A ſingular proof of this appeared in the effect produced by the famous Popiſh plot; an abſurd fable, received greedily as an inconteſtable truth, and which even ſerved as a pretext for the excluſion of the duke of York from the crown. Titus Oates, the author of this impoſture, was a man of the moſt infamous and abandoned character, and reduced to the loweſt degree of wretchedneſs. Being, in his youth, accuſed of perjury, he embraced the Romiſh religion, and lived ſome time amongſt the jeſuits at St. Omer's, who diſmiſſed him as a man of the moſt dangerous turn of mind. Reſentment, without doubt, contributed to urge

[*n*] A truth, of which there now remains no doubt. See Hume's account, in his laſt edition, of the Memoirs of James the ſecond, which he ſaw in the Scots college at Paris, and which fully prove this deſign.

him

him to this accuſation. He pretended, his converſion was only a feint, in order to penetrate the ſecrets of popery, and the jeſuits. Behold the marvellous reſult of his diſcoveries. According to his depoſition, "The pope had aſſumed to himſelf the ſovereignty of this kingdom, and had delegated his rights to the jeſuits: in conſequence of which grant, the general of the order [o] had, by letters patent under the ſeal of the ſociety, diſpoſed of all the chief offices, both civil and military [p]. In a council of fifty jeſuits, it was unanimouſly reſolved to put the king to death: father La Chaiſe (whom he called La Shee), confeſſor to the French king, had conſigned ten thouſand pounds as a reward for this regicide: the crown was to be offered to the duke of York, on condition he received it as a gift of the pope; that otherwiſe he was himſelf

[o] Oliva.

[p] Lord Arundel was created chancellor; lord Powis, treaſurer; Sir William Godolphin, privy ſeal; Coleman, ſecretary of ſtate; Langhorne, attorney general; lord Bellaſis, general of the papal army; lord Petre, lieutenant general; lord Stafford, paymaſter.

to periſh, by poiſon or aſſaſſination: the great fire of London had been the work of the jeſuits, who had gained by the pillage fourteen thouſand pounds: a plan was modelled, for a new burning, and a general maſſacre. In ſhort, they were determined to overturn the kingdom, and put all to fire and ſword, in order to eſtabliſh popery, and the dominion of the jeſuits." Theſe abſurdities, though full of palpable contradictions, ſpread univerſal terror. No one doubted of the reality of the plot. Coleman, ſecretary to the dutcheſs of York, having been arreſted, the papers relating to his correſpondence with father La Chaiſe, the pope's nuncio, and other papiſts, furniſhed new ſubject for alarms. Theſe indiſcreet letters appeared to carry conviction. He wrote thus to Louis's confeſſor: "We have here a mighty work upon our hands; no leſs than the converſion of three kingdoms. God has given us a prince (meaning the duke of York), who is become (may I ſay a miracle) zealous for being the author and inſtrument of ſo glorious a deſign; but the oppoſition we are ſure to meet with

Letters of Coleman to father La Chaiſe.

is

is alſo like to be great: ſo that it imports us to get all the aid and aſſiſtance we can." In another letter to him, he ſays, "Money cannot fail of perſuading the king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever ſo much to his prejudice. It has ſuch an abſolute power over him, that he cannot reſiſt it. Logic in our court, built upon money, has more powerful charms than any other ſort of argument." Three hundred thouſand pounds, which he aſks of the jeſuits, would, he ſaid, engage the king to diſſolve the parliament, whoſe reſolutions were extremely contrary to the intereſts of France. Theſe letters, it muſt be confeſſed, opened a vaſt field to ſuſpicions and conjectures.

The idea men had of the zeal of the jeſuits, made all which calumny imputed to them appear probable. A new incident ſtrengthened theſe prejudices. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a juſtice of peace, who had received Oates's firſt depoſition, was found dead in a ditch [q], having his

[q] At Primroſe-hill, near Hampſtead.

rings on his fingers, and his money in his pocket; a proof he had not been killed by robbers [r]. In the eyes of the furious multitude, this aſſaſſination, the authors of which have never been diſcovered, could only be a crime of the Catholics. Every one thought himſelf in danger. Chains and poſts were put up in the city, as if an enemy had been at the gates. Though Charles deſpiſed all theſe chimeras, he ſpoke of the plot to the parliament, which he had ſummoned in order to procure ſubſidies; but he added, "that, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſay too much or too little, he would leave the affair in the hands of the magiſtrates and the law." Danby, the treaſurer and prime miniſter, mentioned the plot, in the houſe of lords, either from hatred to the papiſts, or to render the perſon of the king dearer to the nation, by per-

[r] The marks of ſtrangling were thought to appear about his neck, and ſome contuſions on his breaſt: his own ſword was ſticking in the body; but as no conſiderable quantity of blood enſued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thruſt in after his death, and that he had not killed himſelf. HUME.

ſuading

ſuading them the jeſuits had conſpired his death. The two houſes eagerly took cognizance of the affair. Oates was heard before them. The houſes voted, "that there hath been, and ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, continued and carried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and murdering the king, for ſubverting the government, and for rooting out and deſtroying the Proteſtant religion." They gave to the informer, to the infamous Oates, an apartment in Whitehall [s], with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds a year. This reward produced a new evidence; for impoſtors will never be wanting, when they pay ſo liberally for impoſture. Bedloe, a wretch who had ſignalized himſelf all over Europe as an adventurer and a cheat, accuſed ſeveral Catholics, ſome of whom were in the queen's ſervice, of Godfrey's murder. He added to Oates's depoſitions, ſome circumſtances ſtill more incredible. Thoſe whom he named, amongſt whom were ſeveral lords, were impriſoned. A bill

[s] He had alſo a guard to protect him.

paſſed, for a new teſt, in which popery was denominated idolatry. All who refuſed to take it, were excluded from parliament. The duke of York, with tears in his eyes, begged of the upper houſe an exception in his favor; proteſting, "that his religion ſhould remain ſecret between God and him, without ever appearing in his conduct." He carried it only by two voices. "I would not have," ſaid a peer, in the debate on this bill, "ſo much as a popiſh man or a popiſh woman to remain here; not ſo much as a popiſh dog or a popiſh bitch; not ſo much as a popiſh cat, to pur or mew about the king." Nothing could equal the indecency of this ſally, except the applauſe with which it was received. The ſpirit of party is an inconceivable frenzy, which ſilences the voice of common ſenſe [*t*].

Violent meaſures of the parliament.

[*t*] Oates and Bedloe, wiſhing perhaps to pleaſe the king, had now, contrary to their former evidence, dared to accuſe the queen; but Charles had the generoſity to protect his injured conſort. "They think," ſaid he, "that I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not ſee an innocent woman abuſed."

During

During theſe tranſactions, Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, returned abruptly, to preſent a new ſcene. He produced a letter, wrote by the treaſurer, Danby, during the negotiations at Nimeguen; a letter much more diſgraceful to the king than the miniſter, ſince it proved that this prince had, in ſome ſort, ſold the intereſt both of England and the allies. It expreſſed, amongſt other things, "that in caſe the conditions of peace ſhould be accepted, the king expected to have ſix millions of livres a year, for three years from the time that this agreement ſhould be ſigned." To ſatisfy Danby, who diſapproved this conduct, the king had added, with his own hand, "This letter is writ by my order." The commons no longer doubted, that Charles had all along acted in concert with the French court; and, in order to fathom a myſtery ſo calculated to inflame the nation, they impeached the treaſurer of high treaſon. The lords refuſed to order him into cuſtody. The diſpute became very warm: but the king prorogued, and ſoon after diſſolved, this long parliament, which had

Danby accuſed of treaſon.

had been at firſt ſo favorable to the crown, and which became, at length, ſo reſtleſs and diſtruſtful. The king's meaſures, as well as the national humor, had greatly altered the diſpoſitions in which it met. It had continued from 1661.

Trials of Coleman, father Ireland, &c.

The trials of thoſe who were accuſed of the popiſh plot were continued. Coleman was the firſt victim. His letters proved an outrageous zeal for the Romiſh religion, but nothing which could be conſtrued into high treaſon. Oates and Bedloe ſwore, "that he had received from the general of the jeſuits, a commiſſion to be ſecretary of ſtate, and that he had conſented to the aſſaſſination of the king:" chimerical imputations, which ought to have had no weight in the mouths of theſe perjured wretches. Coleman was, notwithſtanding, condemned and executed, and died proteſting his innocence. Father Ireland ſuffered alſo, though he proved that he was in Staffordſhire at the very time when Oates's evidence ſuppoſed him in London. Every jeſuit, every diſciple of the ſociety, paſſed for a villain; ſo ſtrongly were they convinced that their

their doctrine authorized falſehood and mental reſervation. Some other perſons [u] accuſed, ſuffered death with as little juſtice. Rapin does not dare to maintain the reality of the plot; but he diſſembles many circumſtances which prove the falſity of it. Hume, more impartial, and better inſtructed, makes us ſenſible every moment of the influence of paſſion, and prejudice, in the whole tranſaction. That a conſpiracy affirmed to be ſo general, attended with ſuch immenſe preparations, and ſuch an extenſive intercourſe with foreigners, could be proved only by the evidence of a ſmall number of men of the moſt abandoned and infamous characters, notwithſtanding the rewards promiſed to whoever ſhould make any diſcovery, notwithſtanding the zeal and ſtrict enquiries of parliament, is a convincing proof of the impoſture.

A. D. 1679. New parliament.

The leaders of the popular party, and Shafteſbury in particular, took advantage artfully of the general fer-

[u] Grove and Pickering, who were accuſed by Oates and Bedloe of having undertaken to ſhoot the king.

mentation,

mentation, to execute a real plot againſt the duke of York, preſumptive heir to the crown, of whoſe diſpoſition and religion they were equally afraid. A new parliament having been ſummoned, the elections went in general contrary to the wiſhes of the court; and Charles ſoon perceived that this aſſembly would follow the ſteps of the laſt. The preſſing danger rouzed him from his lethargy, and gave new force to the faculties of his ſoul. To diſpel the ſuſpicions of popery, he obliged his brother to leave the kingdom. The duke obeyed, after having inſiſted on aſſurances, that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt his right to the ſucceſſion. Shafteſbury wiſhed to place on the throne the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon; and a report was already circulated, that there had been a contract of marriage between the king, and Lucy Walters, Monmouth's mother. But Charles, in full council, diſavowed this impoſture, and declared his ſon illegitimate. The duke of York choſe Bruſſels for the place of his retreat. The impeachment againſt Danby was, notwithſtanding, renewed by the commons.

mons. Though the king had granted him a general pardon, though he aſſured them this miniſter had acted in every thing by his orders, the houſe pretended that a pardon from the king could not ſtop an impeachment of the commons: an unheard-of pretenſion, but conformable, on Engliſh principles, to the genius of a limited monarchy; where the miniſters are ſuppoſed to be accountable to national aſſemblies, even for ſuch abuſes as they may commit by the prince's orders. It was determined, that if Danby did not ſurrender himſelf by a certain day, he ſhould be attainted. Having choſen to appear, rather than ſubmit to ſo rigorous a penalty, he was ſent to the Tower.

New council.

Sir William Temple, more ſenſible to the advantages of philoſophy than the charms of ambition, having been recalled by his maſter, to aſſiſt in the miniſtry, propoſed to form a council, into which the principal of thoſe who poſſeſſed the confidence of the people, might be admitted. By this meaſure, he aſſerted, the parliamentary pretenſions could not fail of being moderated; or at leaſt

leaſt the king would have a conſiderable party to oppoſe to the factious. His reaſons appeared very ſolid; but, againſt his opinion, the king made Shafteſbury preſident of the new council. This dangerous man, finding there was leſs ſincerity than policy in the king's conduct in reſpect to him, attached himſelf more cloſely than ever to the male-contents. What lengths were they not capable of going, under ſuch a guide?

Excluſion bill.

The commons voted, "that the duke of York's being a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had given the higheſt countenance to the preſent conſpiracies and deſigns of the papiſts, againſt the king and the Proteſtant religion." The king haſtened to prevent the natural conſequences of this bill, by propoſing limitations which might have ſoftened the moſt furious enemies of his brother's ſucceſſion. In caſe the crown paſſed to a papiſt, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any eccleſiaſtical preferments. No member of the privy council, no judge, no lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant, of the counties, no officer

officer of the navy, was to be appointed without conſent of parliament. Theſe extraordinary conceſſions, which confined the prerogative in ſuch narrow bounds, did not calm the apprehenſions of the houſe, where the intrigues of Shafteſbury kindled a terrible flame. The bill of excluſion was brought in: it provided, that the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion, after the duke; that, if he appeared in any part of the Engliſh dominions, he ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon; and that all thoſe who ſupported his title ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. It was in the ſame manner, that the pretext of religion had deprived of his rights in France, the immortal Henry the fourth, much more worthy to reign than the duke of York. The commons diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome other acts, which breathed the ſpirit of liberty, and jealouſy of the crown. They brought in a bill to exclude from their houſe, whoever poſſeſſed any lucrative office, in order to deprive the court of all means of

of making partizans. They voted the ſtanding army, and even the king's guard, illegal; which was a violent blow to the royal prerogative. They at length proſcribed all arbitrary impriſonments, by the act of *Habeas Corpus*, regarded in England as the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the perſonal ſecurity of every citizen. By virtue of this celebrated act, no ſubject of this kingdom could be ſent to any priſon beyond ſea: no judge muſt refuſe to any priſoners a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the priſoner, and to certify the cauſe of his detainer and impriſonment: every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the ſame offence. The bill paſſed into a law.

Habeas Corpus act.

To theſe acts of the commons, ſucceeded new attacks on Danby. They voted, "that whoever ſhould maintain the validity of the pardon granted him by the king, ſhould be accounted

The parliament diſſolved.

counted a betrayer of the liberty of the houſe of commons." They demanded that the biſhops ſhould abſent themſelves during the courſe of this affair; ſo much did their devotion to the court render them ſuſpected to his party. The upper houſe oppoſed this. The commons prepared a remonſtrance. Their heat alarmed the king. He diſſolved the parliament, without conſulting his new council. He had drawn little advantages from their meeting, and could expect nothing from their countenance but the moſt dangerous diſputes. Five jeſuits, and Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, who managed the affairs of the order, were executed on account of the popiſh plot. In vain ſixteen ſtudents, from St. Omer's, aſſerted, that Oates was with them in that ſeminary at the time when he had ſworn he was in London. Their evidence only expoſed them to ridicule; and one of them ſaying, that the fact was certain, if he could believe his ſenſes, "You papiſts," ſaid the chief juſtice, "are taught, not to believe your ſenſes." Oates produced ſome evidence of his having been

Execution of the five jeſuits.

been in London; but the falſity of theſe depoſitions was acknowledged in the ſequel. All theſe unhappy people periſhed, aſſerting their innocence to their laſt ſigh. If paſſion was leſs blind, this would have been ſufficient to open the eyes both of the populace and the judges [*w*].

Revolt of the Preſbyterians in Scotland.

In Scotland, the Preſbyterians, as ill-treated as the Catholics in England, at length loſt all patience. Notwithſtanding their ſevere morals, the doctrine of homicide was common amongſt them. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and primate of the kingdom, who had made his fortune by deſerting their party, and was become a perſecutor like the duke of Lauderdale, was aſſaſſinated by a band of theſe fanatics. The crime of a few individuals drew on the whole a violent perſecution. They took arms in deſpair. Charles ſent the duke of Monmouth to reduce them. Without any other leaders than their miniſters, they were eaſily defeated; and

[*w*] Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, was tried, and, notwithſtanding the torrent of prejudice, acquitted.

Monmouth,

Monmouth, wiſhing to gain the affections of the Scots, treated them very humanely. Some time after, the duke of York ſucceeded in diſgracing him, and even obliging him to retire out of the kingdom [x].

The king's ſickneſs had occaſioned an univerſal alarm; for his people rendered juſtice to the amiable part of his character; and this reaſon, as much as the fear of ſeeing his brother mount the throne, made men regard his death, to uſe an expreſſion of Sir William Temple, "as the end of the world." The political cabals did not, however, loſe their activity. The male-contents demanded that a parliament ſhould be called. The court party op- A. D. 1680. Whigs and Tories.

[x] One Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand, whipped, tranſported, pilloried, &c. was about this time the author of a new plot, called the *Meal Tub Plot*, from the place where ſome papers, regarding it, were found. It appears that, under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the Preſbyterians, he had been countenanced by ſome Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the preſence of the king and the duke: and that, under pretence of revealing new popiſh plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury, and ſome of the popular leaders.

poſed

poſed to their petitions, addreſſes full of ſubmiſſion to the will of the ſovereign. This was the æra of the names of Whig and Tory. The firſt, under which the Scots fanatics were known, was applied to all the enemies of the court; the ſecond, which formerly denominated the popiſh rebels in Ireland, was given to its partizans. Theſe odious names gave freſh food to malignity and diſcord.

Parliament.

The king at length ſummoned a parliament, and ſpared nothing to inſpire it with thoſe ſentiments of union ſo neceſſary to the public good. "All Europe," ſaid he, "have their eyes upon this aſſembly; and think their own happineſs and miſery, as well as ours, will depend upon it. Let us therefore take care, that we do not gratify our enemies, and diſcourage our friends, by any unſeaſonable diſputes. If any ſuch do happen, the world will ſee, that it was no fault of mine; for I have done all that it was poſſible for me to do, to keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you ſo when I die." The commons, far from entering with wiſdom into theſe views,

deſtroyed

deſtroyed them by acts of violence againſt the tories. Even the *Habeas Corpus* act was violated. Arbitrary impriſonments became ſo frequent, as to excite a general murmur. One Stowel had the courage to reſiſt the ſerjeant at arms, who came to lead him to priſon by order of the houſe. He ſtood on his defence; and, ſaid he knew of no law, by which they could deprive him of his liberty. The commons did not dare to proceed, and got off by ſuppoſing Stowel ſick, and giving him a month to recover his health. They now returned to the excluſion bill. After great debates in the upper houſe, where Shafteſbury's eloquence was eclipſed by that of his nephew, Halifax, a zealous partizan of the court, the peers declared againſt the bill, and put an end to the hopes of the commons. Their anger diſcharged itſelf on the lords accuſed of that phantom of a conſpiracy, which ſtill agitated the minds of men. Five Catholic peers had been a long time in priſon on this account. The moſt aged and feeble of them all, Lord Stafford, was the perſon they firſt attacked, as leaſt capable of

Trial and execution of Stafford.

making a defence. Oates depoſed, that he ſaw delivered to him a commiſſion by Oliva, general of the Jeſuits. Two other witneſſes [y] ſwore, he had attempted to engage them to kill the king. The infamy of the accuſers, the abſurdity of the depoſitions, the irreproachable conduct and unſhaken loyalty of Stafford, the proofs of innocence which appeared in his defence, did not prevent the peers themſelves declaring him guilty, by a plurality of twenty-four voices: ſo difficult is it to reſiſt the torrent of popular prejudice. His courage did not abandon him. Old and infirm, when going to execution, he called for a cloak: "Perhaps," ſaid he, "I may ſhake with cold; but, I truſt in God, not for fear." He diſavowed on the ſcaffold thoſe criminal principles which are attributed to the church of Rome. "I die," ſaid he, "in the hope that the preſent illuſion will ſoon be diſſipated; and that the force of truth, though late, will oblige all the world to make reparation to my injured honor." *We believe you,*

[y] Dugdale and Turberville.

*my*

*my lord, God bleſs you, my lord,* cried the populace, moved even to tears. The executioner could ſcarce bring himſelf to ſtrike the blow. The circumſtances of this incident ſhook the credit of the plot. No more blood was ſhed on account of this inhuman fable, though the authors of it continued to give the alarm [z].

[z] It has been much doubted, whether Shafteſbury contrived the popiſh plot, or, if he only made uſe of it after it broke out. Some papers I have ſeen, convince me he contrived it, though the perſons he made uſe of as informers ran beyond their inſtructions. The common objection to the ſuppoſition of his contriving the plot, is, the abſurdity of its circumſtances. When Shafteſbury himſelf was preſſed with regard to that abſurdity, he made an anſwer which ſhows equally the irregularity and the depth of his genius. An account of it is in North's Examen, p. 95. "A certain lord of his confidence in parliament, once aſked him what he intended to do with the plot, which was ſo full of nonſenſe as would ſcarce go down with *tantum non* ideots; what then could he propoſe by preſſing the belief of it upon men of common ſenſe, and eſpecially in parliament?—"It is no matter," ſaid he, "the more nonſenſical the better; if we cannot bring them to ſwallow worſe nonſenſe than that, we ſhall never do any good with them."

Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland.

The flexible character of Charles, and his continual wants, raiſing the courage of the commons, and violent meaſures ſeeming the moſt infallible way of bending him to their purpoſes, they propoſed ſeveral ſeditious bills; and declared they would grant no ſubſidies, till that of excluſion had paſſed into a law. The diſſolution of this parliament was the fruit of theſe attempts. But the king, who flattered himſelf with gaining on the minds of men by a mixture of lenity and firmneſs, called another parliament at Oxford, where the popular humors of the capital could leſs influence the aſſembly. London expreſſed the moſt lively diſcontent. They re-elected the ſame members; and voted them thanks for their former behaviour, in endeavoring to diſcover the depth of the *horrid* and *helliſh* plot, and to exclude the duke of York, the principal cauſe of the ruin and miſery impending over the nation. Monmouth, with fifteen peers, preſented a petition againſt aſſembling the parliament at Oxford, "where the two houſes," they ſaid, "could not be in ſafety; but would be eaſily expoſed to the ſwords

A. D. 1681. Parliament of Oxford.

ſwords of the papiſts and their adherents, of which too many had crept into his majeſty's guards." The ſpirit of ſedition ſoon appeared. Oxford ſaw the party leaders arrive well eſcorted; and the members for London, in particular, followed by a croud of people wearing ribbons, on which were embroidered theſe words, *No popery! no ſlavery!* So many ſymptoms of civil war, which made good citizens tremble.

The king now began to diſplay his authority, with a vigor of which he had always appeared incapable. In an imperious ſpeech, he complained of the conduct of the two preceding houſes of commons; declared he would never pretend to arbitrary power himſelf; neither would he ever ſuffer it in others. The genius of the commons was the ſame as before. They followed the ſame ſyſtem, and inſiſted boldly on the bill of excluſion, even to rejecting the project propoſed by one of the miniſters, of baniſhing the duke of York for life, and ſettling the regency on the next heir to the crown; which would have left this prince only the title of king, without any power.

They muſt have carried paſſion to the laſt exceſs, not to have been ſatisfied with ſuch an expedient. The ſcene which we are going to relate will paint yet more ſtrongly the ſpirit of party, and the blind injuſtice which forms its character. Fitzharris, an Iriſh Catholic, had gained the favor of the court, by informing it of the meaſures, and the libels, of the oppoſite party. He compoſed himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of one Everard, a ſpy of the Whigs, the moſt inſolent and outrageous libel ever penned, with a view, apparently, to obtain a reward for diſcovering it. A traitor will not ſpare even his accomplice, when he can gain by betraying him. Everard informed againſt Fitzharris, who was arreſted. The priſoner, a dextrous impoſtor, endeavored to gain the protection of parliament: he declared, the court had engaged him to write this libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the excluſioniſts. He added new circumſtances relating to the popiſh plot; and the commons did not bluſh to protect him, as an inſtrument uſeful to their deſigns. It was neceſſary firſt to take him out of

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the hands of the common courts of juſtice. The expedient they made uſe of, was to impeach him before the upper houſe. The impeachment having been rejected by the peers, a refuſal contrary to the uſage of parliament, the commons complained of a violation of their rights, and declared whatever judge ſhould try the priſoner, guilty of a high breach of their privileges. Charles thought he had no longer any meaſures to keep with them, and ſuddenly diſſolved the parliament.

The king becomes abſolute.

This vigorous ſtroke ſaved him. Determined no longer to expoſe himſelf to parliamentary attacks, he greatly leſſened his expence, demoliſhed the town, caſtle, and mole, of Tangier in Africa, which annually coſt conſiderable ſums, and ſeemed reſolved to maintain his triumph over his oppoſers. A ſpecies of revolution inſtantly took place. The clergy made their pulpits reſound with maxims favorable to the crown. The Whigs were decried, as republicans and ſectaries. Doubts were publicly thrown on the popiſh plot, which the court had hitherto pretended, with

the people, to believe. The king had now only to preſerve that moderation of which he had given ſo many proofs. This had been the vengeance moſt worthy of him. But the law of repriſals was exerciſed with the moſt imprudent rigor. The ſpies and falſe witneſſes, devoted to the Whigs before the court prevailed, now gave themſelves up to that very court when they ſaw its ſuperiority well eſtabliſhed; and theſe peſts of ſociety became the inſtruments of their vengeance againſt their former protectors. Fitzharris was executed: he retracted his impoſtures; and aſſerted, that he had only compoſed the libel to make a merit of delivering it to the miniſtry. But no judgement can be formed of the real intentions of a villain, who ſports with the ſacred name of truth [*a*].

The duke of Ormond in Ireland.

It is time to caſt an eye on Ireland and Scotland. The firſt was govern-

[*a*] Thus the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poiſoned daggers the moſt deadly blows againſt each other's heart, and buried in their factious diviſions all regard to truth, honor, and morality. HUME.

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ed by the wiſe duke of Ormond; a zealous Royaliſt, without being the leſs a good citizen; a Proteſtant, conſtant to his own religion, and indulgent to that of others. Charles had too long neglected him; as it often happens to the beſt ſubjects, who diſdain the meanneſſes of cabal and adulation. Cary Dillon, an Iriſh colonel, ſoliciting him one day to ſerve him at court, and urging that he had no friends but God and his grace, "Alas! poor Cary!" replied the duke, "I pity thee: thou canſt not have two friends that poſſeſs leſs intereſt at court!" When the king reſtored him to his government in 1677, "I have done every thing," ſaid he, "to diſoblige that man; but it it not in my power to make him my enemy." This, in ſuch factious times, was perhaps the higheſt encomium which could have been given to ſo powerful a ſubject. The fortunate and pacific adminiſtration of the lord lieutenant, excited the dark malevolence of Shafteſbury. He attacked him in parliament. Ormond found a defender in his ſon, the generous Oſſory, who, after having praiſed his

Shafteſbury accuſes Ormond.

Oſſory defends him.

actions, added, with a noble confidence, "Having ſpoke of what the lord lieutenant has done, I preſume with the ſame truth to tell your lordſhips what he has not done. He never adviſed the breaking of the triple league; he never adviſed the ſhutting up of the exchequer; he never adviſed the declaration for a toleration; he never adviſed the falling out with the Dutch, and the joining with France. I beg that your lordſhips will be ſo juſt as to judge of my father and all men, according to their actions and their councils." This plain ſpeech, full of truth, ſimplicity, and probity, confounded all the artificial eloquence of his adverſary, the author of thoſe wicked counſels which the king had formerly purſued. Oſſory died ſome time after. "I would not," ſaid the duke, "exchange my dead ſon, for any living ſon in Chriſtendom." It is a ſingular circumſtance, that in Ireland, a Catholic country, no ſign ſhould appear of any combination or conſpiracy, whilſt a popiſh plot agitated with ſuch violence all England. Shafteſbury omitted no arts to perſuade the peo-

ple, that ſome horrible conſpiracy was alſo on foot in Ireland. A ſmall number of the vileſt informers, corrupted by promiſes of reward, entered into his views. The Oxford parliament purſued the affair with heat, and it coſt the titular primate of Ireland [*b*] his life; a man of a mild and peaceable character, who was the unhappy victim of this impoſture.

In Scotland, the exerciſe of arbitrary power cauſed real evils, capable to drive the nation into rebellion. The Scots parliament, in which the duke of York ſat as commiſſioner, eſtabliſhed a teſt, by which the royal prerogative, the king's ſupremacy, and paſſive obedience, were expreſsly acknowledged. But they added, againſt his inclination, a clauſe of adherence to the Proteſtant religion; and the earl of Argyle oppoſed the propoſition made by the courtiers, of diſpenſing with the princes of the blood in reſpect to this oath, which the duke could not take. He even obſerved, that the eſtabliſhed religion had nothing to fear, except on the Affairs of Scotland.

[*b*] Oliver Plunket.

ſide of the royal family. This form was ſo long, ſo ill-digeſted, ſo ill-conceived, and contained ſuch palpable contradictions, that Argyle, when he took the oath, thought himſelf obliged to add ſome explanations. The duke of York, enraged againſt him, eagerly ſeized this pretext of revenge. He was arreſted, and condemned. Seeing injuſtice ſtronger than his innocence, he found means to eſcape, and only ſuffered confiſcation of his poſſeſſions. Under a government where mercy was a ſtranger, and in a country where fanaticiſm braved all puniſhments, dreadful and continual executions muſt have been expected. Severity only ſerved to render men's minds more obſtinate [c]. Two preachers choſe to die, rather than ſay, *God ſave the king*. They

[c] Three women were ſeized, and refuſing to abjure the declaration, were condemned to be drowned. One of them was an elderly woman, the other two very young; one eighteen years of age, the other thirteen. Even theſe perſecutors were aſhamed to put the youngeſt to death: the other two were tied to ſtakes within the low water mark; the elderly woman was placed fartheſt in, and, by the riſing of the waters, was firſt ſuffocated. The younger, terrified could

could only be brought to pray for his converſion. To have the leaſt commerce with the refractory was a ſtate crime. About two thouſand Preſbyterians, proſecuted for this crime, were purſued with unrelenting fury. A cruel inquiſition ſpread terror in the boſom of families. They were obliged to reply to inſnaring queſtions; ſuch as, "Will you renounce the covenant? Do you eſteem the riſing at Bothwell to be rebellion? Was the killing the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's a murder?" A refuſal to anſwer was puniſhed with death. Though the duke of York had obtained permiſſion to return to London [*d*], he

by her companion's death, and overcome by the perſuaſion of her friends, was prevailed on to ſay, *God ſave the king:* ſhe was immediately looſened from the ſtake; but major Winram, who guarded the execution, on her refuſing to ſign the abjuration, ordered her to be inſtantly plunged into the waters, where ſhe was ſuffocated.

[*d*] In his return to England, the veſſel in which he ſailed, periſhed by ſhipwreck; and he, with a few others, were ſaved in the barge. This accident was made remarkable by two circumſtances: the one, that the perſon whom, in a fatal hour to himſelf, he diſcovered the greateſt anxiety to ſave, was colonel Churchill, after-

paſſed for the principal author of theſe acts of violence. His power increaſed every day, and rendered him formidable. The king, whoſe mildneſs made him beloved, was leſs attentively ſerved. The poet, Waller, ſaid, "That Charles, in ſpite to the parliament, who had determined that the duke ſhould not ſucceed him, was reſolved, that he ſhould reign even in his life-time."

A. D. 1682. The city of London deprived of its privileges.

The authority of the crown now rapidly increaſed. The city of London, the intrigues and power of which had given it umbrage, was ſubjected by extraordinary means. They brought againſt it a writ of *Quo warranto*; that is to ſay, an inquiry into the validity of their charter. If the conditions preſcribed in theſe kind of charters had been violated in any eſſential point, the privi-

wards duke of Marlborough; and the other, that, when the mariners, who had been left to periſh in the wreck, ſaw the duke in ſafety in the barge, they gave three huzzas, while their veſſel was ſinking. Generous ſhouts! by which princes might be taught to reflect upon the tenderneſs which they owe to their ſubjects! DALRYMPLE.

leges

leges granted in them might be ſuppreſſed. It was pretended, the city of London was in this caſe. They alledged two facts, which were fully and ſolidly juſtified by the council for the city [e]. But the judges, devoted to the court, pronounced ſentence according to its wiſhes. It was neceſſary, in order to obtain a renewal of the charters, to ſubmit to whatever was demanded. No lord mayor, or ſheriffs, according to the new regulations, could be admitted to the exerciſe of his office without the king's approbation [f]; and if the king diſapproved twice of the mayor and ſheriffs elected, the right of naming them was in himſelf. This policy was employed to reduce the other cities of the kingdom to the ſame ſlaviſh dependance. The patriots renewed the cry of deſpotiſm; a leaven of rebellion, ſtill ſubſiſting, fermented in the boſom of the kingdom, and produced a dangerous conſpiracy.

[e] Treby and Pollexfen.

[f] This prohibition was extended to the recorder, common ſerjeant, town clerk, and coroner.

Shafteſ-

Ryehouſe plot.

Shafteſbury had already formed, in 1680 [g], with the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, and ſome other noblemen, the project of an inſurrection. After the Oxford parliament was diſſolved, Shafteſbury was impriſoned. He had the dexterity to eſcape puniſhment; the conſpirators renewed their cabals, on occaſion of the new ſheriffs, who had been impoſed on the city by the court. They propoſed to raiſe a great part of the kingdom, and even to attack the king's guards. All their meaſures were taken, the time fixed, and a manifeſto drawn up to juſtify the revolt. Some unforeſeen delays diſguſted Shafteſbury, and made him deſpair of ſucceſs. He retired into Holland, where he ſoon after died, worthy the execration of every friend of order, peace, juſtice, and probity. He had, however, as chancellor, given only juſt and equitable decrees. "So difficult is it," ſays Mr. Hume, "to find in hiſtory a character either wholly bad, or perfectly good; though the prejudices of par-

[g] In the ſpring of 1681.

ty

ty make writers run frequently into the extremes both of panegyric and of ſatire!"

The conſpirators did not, however, drop their plan. A traitor [*b*], who was in their ſecret, fortunately revealed the plot. Monmouth concealed himſelf; the lords Ruſſel, Grey, and Howard, were arreſted. The laſt, a man diveſted of every principle of honor, purchaſed his pardon by betraying his accomplices. On his depoſition, they ſeized the earl of Eſſex, the famous Algernon Sidney, and Hampden, grandſon to the republican, ſo celebrated under the late reign. Three criminals of inferior rank were firſt executed [*i*]. Holding to the letter of the Engliſh laws, the mildeſt known in reſpect to treaſon, it was difficult to prove this crime againſt the lords. According to the ſtatute of Edward the third, the two chief ſpecies of treaſon are, the compaſſing and intending the king's death, and the actual levying war againſt him: and by

The conſpiracy diſcovered.

[*b*] One Keiling, a ſalter.
[*i*] Walcot, Hone, and Rouſe.

the

the law of Mary, thoſe crimes muſt be proved by the concurring teſtimony of two witneſſes, to ſome overt-act, tending to thoſe purpoſes. The refinements of the lawyers had introduced a greater latitude in the definition, and rendered the proof more eaſy. It was by theſe refinements, that Ruſſel, the idol of the popular party, was condemned. Too honeſt a man to deny that he was engaged in the project of an inſurrection, he only inſiſted that he had entertained no deſign againſt the life of the king. Monmouth having offered to ſurrender himſelf, if he thought this ſtep would contribute to ſave him, "It will be no advantage to me," ſaid Ruſſel, "to have my friends die with me." He rejected in the ſame manner the offer made him by lord Cavendiſh, of changing habits with him, in order to facilitate his eſcape [k]. A little

Trial of Ruſſel.

[k] Ruſſel, during his trial, at his death, and in a more ſevere teſt of his fortitude than either, his parting with his wife and infant children, and with his friend lord Cavendiſh, preſerved the dignity of his rank and character. With a deep and noble ſilence; with a long and fixed before

before he was conducted to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch, "I have now done with time," ſaid he, "and muſt henceforth think ſolely of eternity." The principle on which he acted was, that the kings of England are limited by the laws; and that if the monarch paſſed thoſe

look, in which reſpect and affection, unmingled with paſſion, were expreſſed, lord and lady Ruſſel parted for ever; he great in this laſt act of his life, but ſhe greater. His eyes followed hers while ſhe quitted the room: and, when he loſt ſight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he ſaid, "The bitterneſs of death is now paſſed."

Ruſſel having, on his trial, aſked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence, for his uſe, might be taken by the hand of another; the attorney general, in order to prevent him from getting the aid of counſel, told him, he might uſe the hand of one of his ſervants in writing, if he pleaſed. "I aſk none," anſwered the priſoner, "but that of the lady who ſits by me." When the ſpectators at theſe words turned their eyes, and beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, riſing to aſſiſt her lord in this his uttermoſt diſtreſs, a thrill of anguiſh ran through the aſſembly. But when, in his defence, he ſaid, "There can be no rebellion *now*, as in former times, for there are *now* no great men left in England;" a pang of a different nature was felt by thoſe who thought for the public. DALRYMPLE.

bounds,

bounds, the ſubjects might lawfully take arms to bring him back to them. But he ſolemnly aſſerted, that he had never been capable of engaging in thoſe dark deſigns which tended to the aſſaſſination of the ſovereign. As to the reſt, he preferred, as he told Burnet, a violent death to any other; perſuaded that the whole conſiſted in being expoſed a few minutes to the eyes of the populace, and that one in his ſituation had leſs to ſuffer, than he ſhould undergo in the drawing of a tooth. He died without betraying the leaſt weakneſs. Theſe circumſtances give an idea of the national character of the Engliſh [l].

[l] Charles, by the advice of the duke, refuſed 100,000 pounds, offered by the old earl of Bedford for his ſon's life: he felt not for an object far more affecting, the daughter of the virtuous Southampton motionleſs at his feet.

The execution was performed, not on Tower-hill, the common place of execution for men of high rank, but in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in order that the citizens might be humbled by the ſpectacle of their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach, to death, through the city: a device, which like moſt others of the kind, produced an effect contrary to what was in-

Algernon

Algernon Sidney, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, ſucceeded Ruſſel on the ſcaffold. His vaſt genius, his unſhaken courage, his paſſion for liberty, had occaſioned his acting a diſtinguiſhed part amongſt the republicans. He had oppoſed the reſtoration of the monarchy with as much ardor as the uſurpation of Cromwell. Howard being the only witneſs againſt him, they thought of an expedient to ſupply this deficiency by producing the papers of the priſoner. Some diſcourſes, in which he had expreſſed his ſentiments on the original contract, on the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrants, and on the advantages of republican government, were regarded as a ſecond witneſs, more than ſufficient to his conviction. Sidney in vain repreſented, that there was no other reaſon for attributing theſe pa- Trial of Sidney.

tended; the multitude imagined they beheld Virtue and Liberty ſitting by his ſide. In paſſing, he looked towards Southampton Houſe; the tear ſtarted into his eye; but he inſtantly wiped it away.

Honor and Friendſhip attended him to the grave: lord Cavendiſh joined the hand of his eldeſt ſon in marriage to one of the daughters of his deceaſed friend. DALRYMPLE.

pers

pers to him beſides a ſimilitude of hand-writing; a proof never admitted in England: that beſides, they had never been publiſhed, or even communicated to one ſingle perſon; that they could not prove a recent conſpiracy; as it was evident, by the color of the ink, it muſt have been many years ſince they were written. Being condemned, notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, he gloried in dying for the cauſe in which he had been from his infancy engaged [*m*]. We cannot doubt of his guilt, though his ſentence was irregular; but we ought to pity this illuſtrious man, who, in a republic, would have merited only praiſes [*n*].

[*m*] After Howard's depoſition was finiſhed, Sidney was aſked, what queſtions he he had to put to him? He turned from Howard, as from an object unworthy to hold converſe with, or even to be looked upon, and anſwered, with an emphatical brevity, "None to *him*." But when he came to make his defence, he raiſed a ſtorm of indignation and contempt againſt Howard, who had received great obligations from him, as a wretch abandoned by God and man, profligate in his character, bankrupt in his fortune, and who owed him a debt which he meant to extinguiſh by his death.

[*n*] He aſcended the ſcaffold with the look,

The

The executions which followed afford nothing intereſting [o]. The earl of Eſſex had been found dead in priſon, with his throat cut. A report was ſpread, that he had been murdered by the king's and his brother's orders. It appeared however certain, that he had killed himſelf. Monmouth obtained his pardon, and was again diſgraced for having retracted his confeſſion. Charles, from this time, enjoyed a peaceable, and almoſt unbounded, authority. The horror entertained againſt the plot, rendered him the dearer to his people. The doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance became the reigning ſyſtem; and the univerſity of Oxford condemned ſeveral propoſitions, which had been a ſhort time before regarded as uncontrovertible principles. The following are a part: *All civil authority is derived originally from the people. The ſovereignty in England reſides in the*

and ſtep, and erect poſture, of one who came to harangue and to command, not to ſuffer.

[o] Baittie of Jervieſwood was offered his life, if he would conſent to turn evidence: he ſmiled, and ſaid, "They who can make ſuch a propoſal to me, know neither me nor my country." DALRYMPLE.

*three*

*three eſtates, the king, lords, and commons; and the king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be over-ruled by the other two. Self-preſervation is the fundamental law of nature, and ſuperſedes the obligation of all others, whenſoever they ſtand in competition with it* [p]. The duke of York was reſtored to his office of high admiral, without having taken the teſt. This prince held the reins of government; and the ſeverities of theſe laſt years were more conſonant to his diſpoſition than to that of Charles, which always leaned towards lenity and indolence. One day, when the duke propoſed to him ſome violent meaſure, "I am too old," ſaid he, "to go on my travels a ſecond time: you, brother, may if you will." It is ſuppoſed he was deliberating on ſending him away, and rendering the government more conformable to the genius of the nation, when he died, in the fifty-fifth year of his age [q], after having received the

A. D. 1685. Death of Charles the ſecond.

[p] About this time, the king married his niece, the lady Anne, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark.

[q] And the twenty-fifth of his reign.

ſacraments

ſacraments of the Romiſh church [r]. He had lived rather a Deiſt than a Catholic. Some perſons ſuppoſed he had been poiſoned; a raſh ſuſpicion, inſpired by malignity and hatred.

This prince would have been more worthy of the throne, if paſſions and indolence had not totally changed in him the ſhining talents he received from nature. He had the qualities of an amiable man, rather than thoſe of a great king, or even a man of ſolidity: an enemy to buſineſs, forgetful of ſervices, negligent of every duty. It has been ſaid, and his conduct might naturally occaſion this exaggerated cenſure, that he never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor ever did a wiſe one. His extreme attachment to pleaſures was one of the principal ſources of his faults and his vexations. His devotion to France rendered him always ſuſpected of intending to make himſelf abſolute by the aſſiſtance of that crown. Clifford, one of his favorite miniſters, ſaid, "that it was better to be a vice-

[r] Father Huddleſtone's account of the king's laſt hours, proves that he was not reconciled to the church of Rome till that period.

roy, under a great monarch, like Louis the fourteenth, than to be the ſlave of five hundred of his own inſolent ſubjects." The misfortune of the Stuarts was always to miſtake the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, and to judge of their authority by that of the moſt deſpotic monarchs. If the Great Charter, ſo often confirmed, was a fundamental law of the kingdom, their principles and conduct could not fail of offending a nation which was become as jealous of their privileges, as they had been ſubmiſſive and docile under the deſpotiſm of the Tudors. They had great examples on their ſide, but the people often oppoſed to them the moſt ſacred and inviolable laws. By reſpecting thoſe laws, they would have avoided expoſing their prerogative to danger.

Charles had no children by his queen, Catharine of Portugal; a virtuous princeſs, who was never able to render herſelf beloved by her huſband. This unhappy marriage occaſioned the Revolution, by leaving the crown to a prince, whom a formidable party wiſhed to exclude.

JAMES

## JAMES the Second.

THE duke of York, under the name of James the ſecond, began his reign with almoſt univerſal applauſe. His ſpeech to the privy council promiſed moderate principles and a wiſe adminiſtration. After ſome encomiums on his brother's clemency, and an aſſurance of taking him for his model, "I have been reported," ſaid he, "to be a man fond of arbitrary power; but that is not the only falſehood which has been reported of me: and I ſhall make it my endeavour to preſerve this government, both in church and ſtate, as it is now by law eſtabliſhed. I know the principles of the church of England are favorable to monarchy; and the members of it have ſhewn themſelves good and loyal ſubjects; therefore I ſhall always take care to defend and ſupport it. I know too, that the laws of England are ſufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wiſh: and, as I ſhall never depart from the juſt rights and prerogative of the crown, ſo I ſhall never

A. D. 1685. James's ſpeech in council.

never invade any man's property. I have often before ventured my life in defence of this nation; and ſhall go as far as any man in preſerving it in all its juſt rights and liberties." This ſpeech ſeemed a ſincere expreſſion of his ſentiments, though his paſt conduct might naturally have inſpired ſome diſtruſt. He received the moſt dutiful addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom. That of the Quakers, in a ſtyle very different from the reſt, is a monument of the turn and genius of their ſect. It was in theſe terms:

Quakers addreſs.

"We are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England, no more than we: wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the ſame liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf. Which doing, we wiſh thee all manner of happineſs."

The conduct of James ſoon gave reaſon to fear both for the national liberty, and the eſtabliſhed religion. The cuſtoms and exciſe, granted to his predeceſſor, were levied by his order, as if already granted by parliament.

ment. He went publicly to maſs, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom. The prieſts, and eſpecially the jeſuits, became his principal confidents. Pope Innocent the eleventh, to whom he ſent an envoy [s] to make his ſubmiſſions, blamed his imprudent zeal. The Spaniſh ambaſſador [t] repreſented to him, that ſo many prieſts about the court were ſufficient to ruin him by their counſels. "Is it not the cuſtom of Spain," replied James, "for the king to conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes," ſaid the ambaſſador; "and 'tis for that very reaſon our affairs ſucceed ſo ill." Whatever father Orleans, whoſe hiſtory of theſe laſt reigns is written with the moſt ſcandalous partiality, may ſay, it is impoſſible to doubt that the deſire of rendering himſelf abſolute, and of changing the eſtabliſhed religion, drew James into the precipice. The council was, it is true, compoſed of Proteſtants; but the queen, Maria Eleonora of Eſt, and a few Romiſh prieſts, were more attended to than the council.

[s] Caryl.
[t] Don Pedro Ronquillo.

The parliament devoted to James.

Whatever repugnance the king had to ſummon a parliament, he could not avoid it at the beginning of his reign. The court had for ſeveral years gained a great aſcendant. The elections anſwered the king's wiſhes, and the lower houſe was almoſt intirely compoſed of Tories. James, in his ſpeech, repeated his promiſes of governing according to law, and maintaining the Proteſtant religion. The manner in which he demanded to have his revenue ſettled for life, as in the preceding reign, could not however fail inſpiring the patriots with ſuſpicion. "Men may think," ſaid he, "that by feeding me, from time to time, with ſuch ſupplies as they think convenient, they will better ſecure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I muſt plainly tell you, that ſuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the beſt way to engage me to meet you often, is always to uſe me well." Though this ſpeech expreſſed a formal reſolution of governing without parliaments in caſe of oppoſition, yet the houſes diſſembled their apprehenſions; they

they granted the king the fixed revenue his predeceſſor had enjoyed; voting alſo, "that his majeſty's royal word left them nothing to fear in reſpect to the maintenance of the religion of the church of England; a religion," the commons added, "which was dearer to them than their lives." Some time after, the infamous Oates, convicted of perjury by a croud of irreproachable witneſſes, of whom nine were Proteſtants, was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, and to ſtand in the pillory five times every year. Nothing could draw from him a confeſſion of his crime. He obtained, under king William, a penſion of four hundred pounds a year; and ſeveral perſons continued attached to him as a martyr to the Proteſtant cauſe.

Oates puniſhed.

The duke of Monmouth, ever dear to the people, undertook to dethrone his uncle at the very time when his throne appeared the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed. He landed, with three veſſels, on the weſtern coaſt [*u*], with only an hundred perſons in his train. He publiſhed a declaration,

Rebellion and death of Monmouth.

[*u*] At Lyme in Dorſetſhire.

in which, after giving the king only the title of duke of York, he called him traitor, tyrant, murderer, popiſh uſurper; and invited the nation to take arms [*w*]. The parliament paſſed a bill of high treaſon againſt Monmouth. Forty thouſand pounds, granted as a ſubſidy in order to quell the rebellion, favored the activity of James. Proclaimed a rebel in ſeveral cities, he was defeated near Bridgewater. He was warmly purſued, and diſcovered in a ditch, covered with fern, in the habit of a peaſant [*x*]. The fear of puniſhment reduced him at firſt to make abject ſubmiſſions; but he cou-

[*w*] At Taunton, the people ſtrewed his way with flowers and herbs; followed him with acclamations and prayers; adorned their walls with green boughs; and threw open their houſes to his army. Twenty-ſix young maidens, in the name of the town, preſented him, on their knees, with a bible and a banner.—Kiſſing the book, he ſaid, "He came to defend the truths contained in it, or *to ſeal them with his blood.*" DALRYMPLE.

[*x*] Some green peas, on which he had ſupported life, were found in his pocket, together with his George of diamonds. He had not ſlept for three nights: from exhauſtion of ſpirits, he fainted and wept. DALRYMPLE.

rageouſly

rageouſly refuſed to betray his adherents, and expiated his crime on a ſcaffold [y]. The popular favor he enjoyed would have rendered him more dangerous, if indiſcretion had not precipitated his meaſures. James had a noble occaſion of ſigalizing his clemency, but he ſhewed only the moſt unfeeling rigor.

This victory was followed by yet more barbarous executions. Colonel Kirk, a ſoldier of fortune, whoſe ferocious ſoul breathed only blood and ſlaughter, carried his cruelty to ſuch a ſavage exceſs, as to make a ſport of the executions of his victims. Jefferies, the chief juſtice, ſtill more

[y] James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a confeſſion of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchaſe life, however loved, at the price of ſo much infamy. HUME.

He expreſſed anxiety, leſt the executioner ſhould not end his life at a blow, examining the ax to ſatisfy himſelf, and ſaid, "He was afraid to die." Yet aſked, "Could any one perceive it by his countenance?" The executioner, awed by the rank of his victim, after ſeveral ineffectual ſtrokes, threw away the ax, and could with difficulty be prevailed on to compleat his duty. DALRYMPLE.

inhuman, becauſe his profeſſion ought to have rendered him more merciful, filled with carnage thoſe counties which had been the ſcenes of rebellion. An Anabaptiſt lady [z] was burned alive, for having charitably received into her houſe one of the rebels; and this wretch was ſaved, for having had the perfidy and baſeneſs to inform againſt her. Lady Liſle [a], without any other crime than that of having harbored two rebels after the battle, was alſo burnt, though ſhe had ſent her ſon to fight againſt Monmouth. According to father Orleans, James, informed *too late* of theſe cruelties, expreſſed his indignation, and repaired the injuſtice as much as was in his power. But is it poſſible to believe him, when we ſee the implacable Jefferies created a peer at his return, and raiſed ſoon after to the dignity of chancellor? A ſtrange manner of puniſhing a man too worthy of the public hatred!

[z] Mrs. Gaunt.

[a] This lady was above ſeventy years of age.

The

The earl of Argyle had attempted an invaſion in Scotland, before Monmouth made his in England. His countrymen were not diſpoſed to ſupport him; his feeble army diſperſed itſelf; he was taken, and executed. All the acts of parliament now made, ſeemed dictated by the court. They rejected with horror all principles derogatory to the king's *ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, and abſolute power*; they declared it high treaſon for any perſon to refuſe the teſt, if tendered by the council: to be preſent at any conventicle, was made puniſhable with death; and to refuſe to give teſtimony, in caſes of treaſon or non-conformity, was to incur the penalties of thoſe crimes. This aſtoniſhing change in Scotland ſhews what force can effect amongſt a people already ſubdued. The Engliſh parliament did not appear ſo tractable. James having declared, that he had, in favor of ſome Catholic officers who had ſerved him faithfully, diſpenſed with the teſt preſcribed by law, the commons ſhewed at firſt ſome remains of vigor and ſpirit, and determined to examine

Affairs of Scotland.

the power which he had aſſumed to himſelf of diſpenſing with the laws. *I hope we are all Engliſhmen*, ſaid a member, *and not to be frighted with a few hard words* [*b*]. Fear, however, reſtrained the commons. They went no farther; the ſupplies even exceeded James's demands. The upper houſe, leſs complaiſant, contrary to its cuſtom, undertook this examination by the advice even of the biſhops, who were ſuppoſed ſo generally attached to the court. It did not fail to provoke the king. Irritated by an appearance of oppoſition, he immediately prorogued the parliament.

A. D. 1686. To favor openly the Catholics, hated and ſuſpected as they were, was a ſtep as dangerous as it was raſh. Louis the fourteenth had juſt revoked the edict of Nantes; and the ſeverities exerciſed in France againſt the Hugonots made the name of papiſt more deteſtable than ever; till that time, the power of diſpenſing with

[*b*] So little ſpirit appeared in the houſe of commons, that they ſent this gentleman, Coke, member for Derby, to the Tower.

poſitive

poſitive laws had appeared one of the prerogatives of the crown. The commons had themſelves acknowledged it, at the very time when they were undermining the power of Charles the firſt. But the uſe which James had made of it, raiſed doubts on this point; and theſe doubts led to principles very different from the ancient maxims. "If he can diſpenſe with one law," ſaid they, "why not with another? why not with all? And what will become of the intire legiſlation, left at the mercy of the ſovereign: the teſt being the ſtrongeſt barrier againſt the Romiſh religion, what ſhall hinder the eſtabliſhment of this religion, under a king who profeſſes it, if the teſt is no longer in force?" Such arguments made too much impreſſion not to produce ſome great effect. The general anxiety increaſed, when the nation ſaw miniſters, nobles, embrace the king's religion, the moſt illuſtrious Proteſtants loſe all credit, the duke of Ormond recalled from Ireland, and the earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous papiſt, promoted ſoon after to the government of that kingdom. Father Peters, the king's confeſſor,

Examination of the diſpenſing power.

confeſſor, a member of the privy council, was ſuppoſed the author of theſe imprudent meaſures. The people regarded a jeſuit in this ſituation, as a public enemy holding the reins of government.

Imprudent zeal of the king.

An open rupture with the church of England, which it was of ſo much conſequence to manage, the eſtabliſhment of an eccleſiaſtical court little different from the high commiſſion, the biſhop of London [c] ſuſpended by this tribunal, for having refuſed to puniſh arbitrarily a clergyman who had preached againſt popery, manifeſt attacks on the privileges of the univerſities to oblige them to admit Catholics into their collegiate offices; theſe new imprudences diſcovered a fixed deſign to change the national religion. The penal laws were ſuſpended by a declaration calculated to envenom the evil. As the king's character and principles were very unfavorable to toleration, it was judged he labored only in favor of the Catholics; though he affected to careſs

A. D. 1687.

[c] Compton, brother to the earl of Northampton.

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the Preſbyterians. Depending on his power, more abſolute in reality than that of any of his predeceſſors, he was not afraid to ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary [*d*] to Rome, nor to receive at London a nuncio of the pope. All communication with Rome had been declared high treaſon by act of parliament. What could be expected from a meaſure ſo contrary to the laws? Innocent the eleventh foreſaw the conſequences, and expreſſed little eſteem for a prince whoſe inconſiderate zeal muſt neceſſarily ruin the beſt cauſe. "It is ſtrange," ſays Mr. Hume with great reaſon, "that James, when he felt, from the ſentiments of his own heart, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over him, ſhould yet be ſo infatuated, as never once to ſuſpect that it might poſſibly have a proportional authority over his ſubjects. Could he have profited from repeated experience, he had ſeen inſtances enough of their ſtrong averſion towards that communion, which, from a violent, imperious diſpoſition, he was determined, by every poſſible expedient, to introduce into his king-

[*d*] Lord Caſtlemaine.

dom."

dom." Perhaps he founded his hopes on the rapid changes under Henry the eighth, Edward the ſixth, Mary, and Elizabeth. But, beſides that the parliament was almoſt enſlaved under the Tudors, the Catholic party was ſo much declined, it was become ſo odious to the nation, that it required miracles of wiſdom to make it triumph over its enemies.

Trial of the biſhops.

The declaration of indulgence having been renewed, with orders to read it in all the churches, ſix of the biſhops [e], in a reſpectful petition, repreſented to the king, "That, being founded on a power which the parliament had often declared illegal, they could not make themſelves parties to it by a ſolemn publication in the churches." Though theſe prelates had carried their circumſpection ſo far as to keep this petition as far as poſſible a ſecret amongſt themſelves, yet were they all ſent to the Tower. The concourſe of people on their paſſage,

[e] Lloyd of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Briſtol. Sancroft, the archbiſhop, who joined the other ſix in the petition, was ſick, and did not go with them to deliver it, yet he was ſent with them to the Tower.

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the conſternation of the ſpectators, the reſpect even of the ſoldiers who guarded them to priſon, furniſhed a ſtriking proof of the ſentiments of the public [*f*]. The council employed by the biſhops, defended their cauſe with as much ſucceſs as freedom; and the jury, by pronouncing them *Not guilty*, excited an univerſal tranſport. The very day of the trial,

[*f*] Directions were given to carry the biſhops by water to the Tower, in order to prevent the emotions which a ſight of their ſufferings, in their paſſage through the city, might raiſe in the people. But the people ruſhed in innumerable crouds to the river, to wait for them, covering the banks on both ſides, and filling the rooms, and even roofs, of all the adjoining houſes. They ſet up a ſhout of acclamation, when the biſhops were firſt diſcovered at a diſtance; ſhed tears, and offered prayers for their deliverance, when they approached; threw themſelves with reverence on the ground as they paſſed; and ſtill with their eyes followed the barges when diſappearing. The contagion caught even the ſoldiers; they kneeled, and aſked the benediction of thoſe priſoners they were appointed to guard. When the biſhops arrived at the Tower, it was the hour of evening ſervice. The bell tolled; the clergyman was entering the chapel, and the people flocking into it. They embraced the omen, and repaired inſtantly to church, to return their thanks to that God, in whoſe cauſe, they believed, they were ſuffering.

James

James was reviewing the troops on Hounſlow Heath. Hearing on a ſudden a ſhout of exultation and tumultuary joy, he aſked the cauſe of lord Feverſham, into whoſe tent he had retired. "'Tis nothing," ſaid he, "but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he: "but ſo much the worſe for them." Two of the judges, whoſe opinions had been favorable to the biſhops, loſt their places; the clergymen who had not read the declaration, were treated as criminal; the general diſcontent grew greater every moment. The queen was delivered of a ſon, and calumny already threw doubts on his birth [g].

Policy of the prince of Orange.

Till this time, the prince of Orange, in the hope of ſucceeding to the crown, had behaved towards the king his father-in-law with the profoundeſt policy; giving him every

[g] Many falſehoods were invented and circulated to increaſe the ſuſpicion; and, according to the nature of credulity, in times of high paſſion, the moſt improbable were the moſt believed. Even men of ſenſe and of candour, ſeemed to have loſt their ſuperiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar. DALRYMPLE.

demonſtra-

demonſtration of reſpect and attachment, not intermeddling in the affairs of his kingdom, and appearing to give his attention only to the general affairs of Europe. The haughtineſs of Louis the fourteenth, after the treaty of Nimeguen, the chambers of Metz and Briſac, eſtabliſhed to increaſe his dominions, but above all, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had re-kindled the jealouſy and hatred of the enemies of that formidable monarch. An infinity of Proteſtants, who had left France on account of religion, painted him in foreign countries as a deteſtable perſecutor. Whilſt they gained by their induſtry and riches, they partook their reſentment, and burned to revenge the cauſe of religion. The prince of Orange, from perſonal animoſity as much as principles of policy, animated all the European courts againſt France. The league of Augſbourg was his work. James, perſuaded that the example of the ſtadtholder would have great influence on the Engliſh, endeavored to make him approve his meaſures, promiſing on that condition to enter into all his

his views. But William was careful not to expoſe himſelf to the hatred of a people of whom he might one day become the ſovereign. He ſignified to the king, "that if, on one ſide, he approved the revocation of the penal laws, becauſe he naturally loved toleration; he, on the other, regarded the teſt as a neceſſary means of providing for the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed worſhip; that the excluſion from public offices was not a puniſhment; and that the government of Holland, though it tolerated all ſects without diſtinction, confided thoſe offices only to ſuch as profeſſed the national religion." After having declared his ſentiments, the prince began to lend an ear to the complaints of the Engliſh; and the birth of the prince of Wales, by appearing to ſhut from him the road to the throne, removed all his apprehenſions of breaking with a father-in-law whoſe conduct he blamed, and whoſe faults favored his ambition.

Secret preparations of the prince.

Several male-contents already called him to the aſſiſtance of England. Even the Tories, and the high church clergy, making their principles give way

way to the conjuncture, joined in the deſigns of the Whigs. The prince of Orange, by his emiſſaries, ſkilfully flattered all parties. All the ſects equally looked up to him as their protector. He at length prepared for war, without hoping to be able to place himſelf on the throne. Though he acted in concert with the confederates at Augſbourg, the ſecret was a long time impenetrable. The fleet, the army of Holland, appeared deſtined to act againſt France. The count D'Avaux, Louis's ambaſſador at the Hague, more clearſighted than James the ſecond, at length penetrated the bottom of this myſtery, and advertized his maſter. Louis immediately communicated the diſcovery to the king of England, offered to ſend a French ſquadron to join his fleet, and even to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſbourg, and march his troops into the Low Countries, to reſtrain the Hollanders by the fear of an invaſion. James, full of a blind confidence, was deaf to advice, and rejected his offers. "I am not," ſaid he, "reduced to the condition of the cardinal of Furſtemberg, nor obliged

James rejects the offers of Louis.

to ſeek the protection of France!" The officious meaſures of Louis the fourteenth raiſed a ſuſpicion that he was allied to James by a ſecret treaty, ſuch as that he had concluded with Charles the ſecond; and this ſuggeſtion, maliciouſly propagated, added freſh fire to the hatred of the oppoſers of government. The Engliſh fleet mutinied, becauſe the admiral had cauſed maſs to be ſaid on board his veſſel; the land forces were equally diſpoſed to revolt, becauſe he attempted to make them conſent to the repeal of the penal laws and teſt [*b*]. James hurried to his ruin with the ſecurity of a man to-

[*b*] The major of Litchfield's regiment drew out the battalion before the king, and told them, that they were required either to enter into his majeſty's views, in theſe particulars, or to lay down their arms. The king was ſurprized to find, that, two captains, and a few popiſh ſoldiers excepted, the whole battalion immediately embraced the latter part of the alternative. For ſome time, he remained ſpeechleſs; but having recovered from his aſtoniſhment, he commanded them to take up their arms; adding, with a bitter, diſcontented air, "That, for the future, he would not do them the honor to aſk their advice." HUME.

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tally void of all foreſight and diſcretion.

The illuſion was diſpelled when too late. His ambaſſador, Albeville, wrote to him from Holland, "that all was ready for a ſpeedy invaſion; and that the grand penſionary, Fagel, publicly avowed the enterpriſe." At this news, he turned pale, he trembled, he retracted all he had done, he reinſtated the friends of the penal laws and teſt in their offices, he careſſed the perſecuted prelates, diſſolved the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, reſtored the charters of London and the other cities; and endeavored to gain the Dutch, by promiſing to enter into ſuch alliances as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the common good. But his imprudence had rendered the ill incurable; and, even if this ſudden change could have been ſuppoſed ſincere, they muſt ſtill have feared his principles would retake the aſcendant. A manifeſto of the prince of Orange prepared the way to an invaſion. The Engliſh grievances were there circumſtantially exhibited. The prince added, "that, to remedy ſo many diſorders, he propoſed to enter the kingdom

kingdom with an army; that his only aim was to ſecure the nation from the pernicious counſels of thoſe who poſſeſſed the king's confidence, to facilitate the calling a free parliament which might provide for the public liberty, and examine the proofs of the prince of Wales's legitimacy [*i*]."

He ſupported this declaration by arms. His fleet, of about five hundred veſſels, carried an army of more than forty thouſand men. Scarce was he landed [*k*], when a croud of Engliſh noblemen and officers haſtened to join him. Churchill, ſo celebrated afterwards under the name of Marlborough, betrayed the king, his benefactor and friend. Prince George of Denmark, ſon-in-law to James, and the princeſs Anne [*l*], his moſt be-

[*i*] Whether the prince intended by his enterprize only to enquire into the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, to reconcile the king to his people, and to engage both in a war againſt France, or to dethrone him, and take the direction of that war to himſelf, is only known to that God, who is the ſearcher of hearts. DALRYMPLE.

[*k*] At Torbay.

[*l*] The princeſs Anne, who can only be excuſed by the very imminent danger to which ſhe ſaw the religion and liberties of her country

loved

loved daughter, unfeelingly abandoned him. In the anguiſh of mind into which this unexpected event threw him, "God help me!" ſaid he; "my own children have forſaken me." Diſtruſting his army, fearing to leave himſelf at the mercy of a parliament, this prince, of experienced valor, and a firm and reſolute character, loſt all courage, and abandoned his throne without having even attempted to defend it [*m*]. He was ſtopped in his

expoſed, went from London in the night, with the biſhop of London, lord Dorſet, and lady Churchill. She went to Northampton, where a ſmall army of volunteers formed round her as a guard, commanded by the biſhop of London, who had, in his youth, been a cornet of dragoons, and who now rode before her with a drawn ſword in his hand, and piſtols at his ſaddle.

[*m*] As ſoon as James entered the city (from Saliſbury), he ſummoned an aſſembly of the peers, in order to aſk their advice. In paſſing to this council, he met with a ſhock as ſevere perhaps as any he had felt. Meeting the father of the unfortunate lord Ruſſel, the old earl of Bedford, who had offered 100,000 pounds for his ſon's life, but which the king, when duke of York, had prevailed with his brother to refuſe, he ſaid to the earl, "My lord, you are a good man; you have much intereſt with the peers; you can do me ſervice with them to-

flight; he returned to London, and ſent to aſk a conference with the prince of Orange. William ſent him an order to quit his capital, aſſigned him Rocheſter for his place of reſidence, which being near the ſea, he hoped this dangerous priſoner would deliver him, by his flight, from the embarraſment which his abode in the kingdom cauſed him. The dethroned prince, as was expected, eſcaped to France [*n*], where Louis the fourteenth received him with an unexampled generoſity. Mr. Hume does juſtice to the unhappy James the ſecond, in ſaying, that to make an excellent ſovereign, he wanted only a due regard to the religion and laws of his country. "Had he been poſſeſſed," ſays he, "of this eſſential quality, even his middling talents, aided by ſo many virtues, would have rendered his reign honorable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency which

day." "I had once a ſon," anſwered the earl, "who could have ſerved your majeſty upon this occaſion." James was ſtruck motionleſs. DALRYMPLE.

[*n*] He landed, at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, the 23d of December.

he poſſeſſed, became more dangerous and pernicious to his kingdom." Perhaps, with more prudence, he would have ſucceeded in reconciling England to the Romiſh church; and never was a ſtronger inſtance how deſtructive an indiſcreet zeal may prove even to a good cauſe.

Parliament.

The prince of Orange, too politic to ſeize violently on the throne, too warm a friend of liberty to expoſe himſelf to the reproach of tyranny, depending beſides on the favorable diſpoſitions of a people who regarded him as their deliverer, was deſirous the laws ſhould diſpoſe of the government. The parliament was convoked under the title of a *convention*; that of *parliament* ſuppoſed them called by the monarch. The commons voted, "That king James the ſecond, having endeavored to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant."

Though the principles of the Tories were greatly relaxed in reſpect to the royal authority, yet this declaration excited great diſputes in the upper houſe. They firſt debated, "Whether there was an original contract between king and people?" And the affirmative was carried by ſeven voices. The next queſtion was, "Whether king James had broke that original contract?" That was, with little oppoſition, carried againſt him. They paſſed then to the laſt article, "Whether he had left the throne vacant?" The majority being for the Tories, it was determined to omit this article. The commons inſiſted; and, after freſh debates, their declaration was received without the leaſt alteration.

The prince of Orange declares his intentions.

The next point was, to fill the throne. Some deſired a regent, others a king. To change the right of ſucceſſion, ſeemed to the firſt to be overturning the fundamental laws of the kingdom; to name a regent, who muſt govern with a precarious authority, was, in the judgement of others, to leave a ſource of confuſion and diſcord. The prince of Orange, at length, took off the maſk. He called together ſome of

of the lords [o], and told them, "He had not hitherto interfered in their debates, leſt he might have appeared to interrupt their freedom. But he muſt now ſpeak out. Some, he heard, propoſed to ſettle the government in the hands of a regent, during the king's life. He had no objection: it might be a wiſe project: but, if he was the perſon intended for the office, he thought proper to let them know, he would accept of no dignity dependent upon the life of another. Others, he underſtood, propoſed to ſettle the princeſs alone on the throne, and admit him to a participation of power through her courteſy. Her right he would not oppoſe: her virtues he reſpected; no one knew them better than he did; crowns to others had charms: to him they had none: but he thought it proper alſo to let them know, that he would hold no power dependent upon the will of a woman. Therefore, if either of theſe ſchemes were adopted, he could give them no aſſiſtance in the ſettlement of

[o] Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and a few others of moſt eminence.

the nation; but would return to his own country, happy in the conſciouſneſs of the ſervices he had endeavored, though in vain, to do to theirs." The princeſs Mary, extremely attached to her huſband, entered into his views, as well as the princeſs Anne, her ſiſter [p]. A bill was now paſſed for the ſettlement of the crown. They conferred it on the prince of Orange, conjointly with the princeſs; but the adminiſtration was reſerved to the prince alone. Anne was to ſucceed after their death, and her poſterity after that of her ſiſter. To this act they added a declaration, which fixed the bounds of the prerogative. We will in part tranſcribe it, to give an idea of the Engliſh conſtitution. They declared, "That the ſuſpending and diſpenſing powers as exerciſed by king James; all courts of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the levying of money, or maintaining ſtanding forces in time of peace, without conſent of parliament;

Settlement of the crown.

[p] The princeſs of Denmark had, at laſt, upon the promiſe of an ample revenue to ſupport her dignity, conſented to be poſtponed to the prince in the ſettlement of the crown. DALRYMPLE.

ment; grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction; and juries of perſons not qualified, or not fairly choſen, and who, in trials of treaſon, were not freeholders, were unlawful. It aſſerted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of ſpeech in parliament, and the right of the ſubject to bear arms, and to petition his ſovereign. That exceſſive bail ſhould not be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted." And it concluded with the great ſecurity of Engliſh liberty, "That parliaments ſhould be frequently aſſembled." Inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſuppreſſed by the declaration, they ſubſtituted new ones in the following terms:

*I do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majeſties king William and queen Mary.* So help me God.

*I do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and poſition,* That princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be

depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whomſoever.

*And I do declare, That no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm.* So help me God.

Marine. Commerce.

Under the two laſt reigns, the Engliſh militia had declined conſiderably; but the marine made great progreſs. Charles had found only ſixty-three veſſels in 1660. His fleet, in 1678, conſiſted of eighty-three. That of James, at the time of the Revolution, conſiſted of one hundred ſeventy-three veſſels, and required forty-two thouſand ſeamen to man it. This prince, when duke of York, had been the firſt inventor of ſea-ſignals. In the courſe of twenty-eight years, the number of merchant-ſhips was doubled: an evident proof of the great increaſe of commerce.

Manners, religion.

After the Reſtoration, an unbridled libertiniſm corrupted the national morals: but fanaticiſm was almoſt extinct. To this laſt ſcourge ſucceeded the ſpirit of irreligion, men generally paſſing from one extreme to the

the other. The court, and a part of the men of letters, were infected with it. The violence and folly with which the religious prejudices of the ſectaries had been tainted, inſpired either hatred or contempt, even for the truths moſt uſeful to ſociety. They had the injuſtice to confound with religion, that blind ſuperſtition which diſhonors it, and that furious fanaticiſm which ſeems to pervert its very nature. The two greateſt philoſophers of this age, Boyle and Newton, reſiſted the torrent of impiety; their example was a ſtrong argument againſt the unbelievers: Charles the ſecond eſtabliſhed by letters patent, in 1660, the Royal Society of London, ſo celebrated for its labors, and the learned men it has aſſembled in its boſom. This was the age of the ſciences in England, whilſt it was in France that of taſte and polite literature. The Hudibras of Butler, a poem of exquiſite wit and humor, was very uſeful to the crown, by the ridicule which it threw on fanaticiſm, and the conduct of the republican parliament. The Abſalom of Dryden contributed to the triumph of the Tories over

Philoſophy, literature.

the Whigs, towards the end of Charles's reign. Otway, a celebrated dramatic poet as well as Dryden, was a declared royaliſt. Yet theſe three authors received no favors from the court, ſufficient to take them from a ſtate of indigence. Charles, with more wit, and more knowledge, than Louis, did not, like him, render himſelf immortal by rewarding genius. One of the moſt eſtimable Engliſh writers of this age, notwithſtanding the negligence of his ſtyle, is Sir William Temple; a writer who united literary, to political, talents; and to the fame of genius and philoſophy, the merit, then very rare, of reverencing virtue and the laws.

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## WILLIAM and MARY.

A. D. 1689. THE order of ſucceſſion violated in favor of a ſtranger, the lawful king dethroned by his ſon-in-law, and proſcribed by the nation, the ſtadtholder of Holland eſtabliſhed without bloodſhed, on the throne of England,

England, were the natural conſequences of thoſe principles which had ſtruck ſuch deep root in the kingdom, and which had given to the free and reſtleſs genius of the Engliſh, a daringneſs fruitful in attempts againſt the rights of their ſovereigns. But whether experience made them feel the inconveniences of an exceſs of liberty, whether the popular party did not dare to paſs the barriers of the national conſtitution; or that the addreſs of the prince of Orange, known under the name of William the third, prevented dangerous attacks; the Engliſh did not take advantage of the conjuncture to deprive the crown of its juſt prerogatives. It preſerved the right of ſummoning and diſſolving the parliament, of chuſing the members of the council, and naming to the moſt important offices. William took care to compoſe the council of perſons devoted to his intereſt. Dr. Burnet, one of the authors of the Revolution, a paſſionate enemy of the Stuarts, obtained the ſee of Saliſbury. Having taken refuge in Holland, under the laſt reign, he had employed his pen and his

intrigues in the ſervice of the ambitious ſtadtholder.

Parliament.

It was neceſſary, either to aſſemble a parliament, or to give that title to the *convention*, which had juſt diſpoſed of the crown. The latter was preferred, as more eaſy and leſs hazardous. The king came to the aſſembly, harangued the two houſes; repreſented to them, "that the affairs of the kingdom required meaſures equally prompt and efficacious;" aſſured them of his zeal for the public good, and his eagerneſs to juſtify the opinion England had entertained of his integrity and probity. Though ſeveral members of the houſe of commons maintained, that the preſence of the king did not ſuffice, without his writs of convocation, to form a parliament, yet the contrary ſentiments prevailed. It was determined, againſt the court party, that the revenues granted to the late king, were not payable to the preſent. Whilſt they deliberated on the means of ſupplying them, William informed his commons, that the depoſed prince was preparing to invade Ireland. The parliament immediately granted him

him four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, for the war which threatened the kingdom.

Party againſt William.

The minds of men began now to take a different turn. Thoſe different parties which had, in concert, called in the prince of Orange, did not regard king William with the ſame eyes: ſome reproached him with having come into England, leſs to defend the nation, than to get poſſeſſion of the crown; others ſuſpected him of being an enemy to the national church, becauſe, though attached to Calviniſm, he wiſhed to eſtabliſh toleration. Some biſhops, and ſome of the lords, refuſed to take the oaths. They gave the name of *Nonjurors* to thoſe who oppoſed the eſtabliſhed government. The king, being informed of a conſpiracy, cauſed the perſons ſuſpected to be arreſted. Though this was trampling on the laws of the kingdom, the peers thanked him for his zeal; and the commons granted him, for a limited time, the power of diſpenſing with the *Habeas Corpus* act; ſo difficult is it to ſuppreſs inſurrections without ſome act of abſolute power! After the

coronation, William obtained ſupplies, both to re-imburſe the Dutch, who had expended ſeven millions of florins on his expedition, and to raiſe an army, and equip a conſiderable fleet; neceſſary precautions in ſo ſtormy a ſeaſon. But he perceived with concern, that the commons, by ſetting bounds to their liberality, were reſolved to limit his power, as well as that of his predeceſſors.

The king endeavors to eſtabliſh toleration.

This great politician wiſhed, above all things, to put an end to thoſe religious averſions and diſputes, from whence ſprang diſcord between the citizens, and cabals in the ſtate. All thoſe oaths which tormented the conſciences of the ſubjects, without any advantage to the nation, or which excluded from public offices men of merit whom he wiſhed to raiſe to them, appeared to him equally uſeleſs and dangerous. He propoſed to unite the different ſects of Proteſtants, in ſuch a manner, that, enjoying all the ſame rights, they might unanimouſly concur in one point of view, the good of the public. The intereſt, and the prejudices, of the clergy of the church of England, threw obſta-

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cles in the way of his deſigns [q]. The former oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were aboliſhed, without enabling the Non-conformiſts to ſhare the privileges of thoſe who compoſed the national church. A bill paſſed to exempt from the penal laws thoſe who took the oaths to the king, provided they held no particular religious aſſemblies. This toleration extended to the Anabaptiſts and Quakers, of whom, notwithſtanding, they expected a profeſſion of faith, on the Trinity, and the holy ſcriptures. Though the Catholics were not comprehended in this act, William treated them with equal lenity. He was afraid to inflame their hatred; and his principles of toleration became the inſtruments of his policy.

Civil liſt.

One of the moſt important objects to the king, and the moſt worthy the attention of parliament, was the civil liſt revenue. Under the late reigns,

[q] King William ought ſurely to have been contented with ſeeing the diſſenters from the national church, in England, on as good a footing as thoſe in Holland; or to have begun by changing the laws of the latter country, in favor of Non-conformiſts.

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the revenue aſſigned to this purpoſe, conſiderable as it appeared, yet always inſufficient, had been intirely at the diſpoſition of the monarch; who, wanting wiſdom, or œconomy, had often diſſipated the funds appropriated to the public ſervice. To prevent ſuch an abuſe, they fixed the ſum which was neceſſary to maintain the king's houſhold, and ſupport the royal dignity; and voted, "that the parliament ſhould controul the application of the reſt of the public money." The commons had ever ſince applied the ſums granted, to the particular uſes of the ſtate, and the account had been ſubmitted to the examination of the two houſes. This change was the more likely to diſpleaſe William, as they granted him a revenue only for a ſhort and limited time. The Engliſh, following the ancient ſyſtem, choſe to reſtrain the ſovereign by the neceſſity of parliamentary ſupplies. Two hundred thouſand pounds was aſſigned for the expences of the crown in time of peace. The Whigs were now the governing party. The reſiſtance of the Tories redoubled their ardor. The continual colliſion of contrary

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ſentiments excited warm diſputes in parliament, and gave perpetual diſturbance to William's adminiſtration.

William acknowledged in Scotland.

Scotland acknowledged his authority, notwithſtanding the efforts of James's emiſſaries. He had wrote from Ireland to the Scots convention, to animate them to ſupport his lawful rights againſt the attempts of an uſurper. He promiſed them ſpeedy ſuccours; he offered to pardon thoſe who returned to their duty, and threatened to puniſh obſtinate rebels with the utmoſt ſeverity. Vain words! To which he could give no weight in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. The duke of Hamilton, preſident of the aſſembly, united the ſuffrages, againſt a prince whoſe religion and deſpotiſm were painted in the moſt odious colors. The ſtates of this kingdom declared, "that, being a papiſt, having exerciſed the regal powers without having taken the oath preſcribed by the laws, having attacked the fundamental conſtitution of a limited monarchy, and violated the laws and liberties of the nation, James had loſt all his rights to the crown; and, that the throne was vacant."

They

They forbad his being acknowledged or aſſiſted; proclaimed king William and queen Mary, and ſent commiſſioners to preſent to them the act which eſtabliſhed their authority: they propoſed at the ſame time the form of an oath, containing, amongſt other articles, a promiſe of deſtroying hereſy. William, when taking the oath, ſtopped ſhort, and proteſted, he did not mean to oblige himſelf to be a perſecutor; the commiſſioners aſſured him, that ſuch was not the meaning of the oath. On this declaration, he accepted the crown of Scotland. The convention was changed into a parliament. The Scots ſoon after complained of the king, who ſuppoſed he might of himſelf chuſe the judges, and who ſuffered ſome of the national grievances ſtill to ſubſiſt. The principal of thoſe grievances regarded *the lords of articles*. It was the uſage, that the king's commiſſioner named eight biſhops, who choſe eight lords, and theſe eight barons, and eight burgeſſes, who formed, all together, a committee, under the title of *lords of articles*, having the excluſive right of propoſing reformation of abuſes, and

and ſuch projects as they judged uſeful to the kingdom. The parliament of Scotland claimed this important privilege. William conſented that the ſtates ſhould chuſe the lords, and have a right to reconſider ſuch articles as the latter ſhould have rejected. But they deſired ſtill more extenſive conceſſions. The Scots ſeemed to reſume that ancient love of liberty which had ſo often degenerated into licentiouſneſs. The king feared the conſequences, and adjourned the parliament.

The duke of Gordon, faithful to the Stuarts, ſtill held the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was blockaded by the troops in the town. A regular ſiege reduced them to extremity. He at length capitulated. Satisfied to obtain advantageous conditions for his garriſon, he had the generoſity to aſk none for himſelf. "It was," he ſaid, "failing in what he owed to his maſter, to think of his own particular intereſts, whilſt ſupporting the royal cauſe." Lord Dundee, at the head of a body of Scots highlanders, attacked the Engliſh with an heroic ardor, defeated them at the firſt charge, and gained

gained a complete victory. But a random ſhot extended him on the plain [r]. The rebels by degrees loſt courage. Defeats deſtroyed their hopes. They laid down their arms, in order to merit the indemnity offered them.

Conduct of James.

James the ſecond did not ſucceed better himſelf in Ireland than his partizans in Scotland. This exiled prince had been magnificently received by Louis the fourteenth, who made it his glory to conſole and aſſiſt him in his misfortunes. The world ſaw a ſingular contraſt between the greatneſs of mind of the one, and the puſillanimity of the other. The firſt acted the part of a generous king, the ſecond that of a bigot. Ever ſurrounded by Jeſuits, forgetting his ſituation and his affairs, to attend

[r] He rode off the field (when wounded), deſiring his miſchance to be concealed, and, fainting, dropped from his horſe. As ſoon as he recovered, he deſired to be raiſed, looked to the field, and aſked, "How things went?" Being told, "All was well:" "Then," ſaid he, "I am well;" and expired. DALRYMPLE.

The reader will ſee a ſtriking reſemblance between the death of our lamented Wolfe, and that of the gallant Dundee.

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with them to the exterior forms of devotion, or eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, he loſt the eſteem of the French, and drew on himſelf the railleries of the court. "See that fool," ſaid the archbiſhop of Rheims, le Tellier, who was very unguarded in his expreſſions, "who has quitted three kingdoms for a maſs." The more reſpectable religion rendered this prince, the leſs he was excuſed for not joining to it, dignity, and the decorum of his rank. Tyrconnel at this time ſupported the intereſts of James in Ireland. A French fleet was to tranſport him into that kingdom. Louis ſupplied him with every thing, furniſhed him with arms, equipages, proviſions, money. "The beſt wiſh I can form for your ſervice," ſaid he, "is, that I may never ſee you again."

James embarked the 7th of March, and arrived at Dublin [s]. The Catholic biſhops and clergy received him with the utmoſt ſolemnity; the people partook their zeal, and gave the moſt extravagant marks of joy.

James in Ireland. Siege of Londonderry.

[s] He arrived at Kingſale the 12th of March.

Theſe

Theſe fortunate beginnings were followed by a ſad reverſe. Londonderry, a city built by the Engliſh, and full of Proteſtants, ſhut its gates, and made an obſtinate reſiſtance. The want of proviſions and ammunition, did not intimidate the beſieged [*t*]. A clergyman of their religion, named Walker, ſerved them for a commandant, and inſpired them with that enthuſiaſm which braves death. Rozen, the French general, threatened them in vain with the moſt cruel treatment. If we are to believe Dr. Smollet, whoſe relation appears very doubtful [*u*], he drove under the

[*t*] Lundie, the cowardly and treacherous governor, ſtole out of the town, diſguiſed, with a load on his back, when he found the inhabitants reſolute to defend the town: they aſſembled, choſe major Baker their governor, and at his deſire gave him Mr. Walker for his aſſiſtant.

[*u*] Nothing can be better aſcertained than this fact. See Walker, Mackenzie, and other cotemporary writers.

"During two days and nights, the unhappy victims of Rozen's reſentment continued at the foot of the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or ſhelter, where many hundreds of them died."

"It would be unhuman to the memory of the unhappy, to impute the diſgrace of this walls

walls of the place, about four thouſand Proteſtants, as victims deſtined to deſtruction. The inhabitants ſent him word, they would inſtantly put all their priſoners to death, unleſs he ſet theſe unhappy people at liberty. The horrors of famine ſoon increaſed thoſe of the ſiege. After living on dogs, cats, mice, and ſalted hides, even theſe miſerable reſources failed them. They already talked of killing and eating the papiſts. At length, general Kirke, who had entered into William's ſervice, with two veſſels, broke the boom which ſhut up the harbor, and entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. James's army immediately raiſed the ſiege. He had loſt there not leſs than nine thouſand men.

His misfortunes, of which he could not miſtake the cauſe, were not a leſſon forcible enough to change his character. Always inclined to deſpotiſm, always immoderate in his zeal, he behaved in Ireland as if he wiſh-

action to James: he revoked the order as ſoon as he heard of it, becauſe his own ſufferings had probably taught him to feel for thoſe of others." DALRYMPLE.

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ed to render his religion and his perſon ſtill more odious in the eyes of the Engliſh. He had inſiſted, in a declaration, on his impartiality in reſpect to the Proteſtants, on the preference which he gave to ſome of them, on the care which he would take to protect all, and to eſtabliſh a perfect liberty of conſcience. But his actions contradicted his words. The Iriſh parliament, filled with Catholics, annulled the act of ſettlement, by which the Proteſtants were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of the forfeited eſtates. They deprived them of theſe lands, with every circumſtance of rigor; and, to conſummate their ruin, brought in a bill of attainder againſt all who were abſent from Ireland, or who had any correſpondence with the enemies of king James. About three thouſand perſons [*w*] were comprehended in this proſcription. The Proteſtant clergy loſt their juriſdiction and privileges, and were even

[*w*] Two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, twenty-eight viſcounts, two viſcounteſſes, ſeven biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen. The reſt were gentlemen.

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driven from ſeveral churches. Theſe meaſures would have been very dangerous even in times of tranquillity. They were infinitely ſo in the midſt of broils. James directed all, without foreſeeing the conſequences of his imprudence. A blind zeal hurried him along. He was, however, deſirous to reſtore the churches to the Proteſtants; but the Catholics refuſed to obey, and queſtioned his authority whenever they did not approve his orders. Braſs money, to which he gave an enormous value, arbitrary taxes, ruinous expedients, became the reſources of a bad government. Whether the prince acted of himſelf, or by the influence of others, it might eaſily have been foreſeen that this abuſe of a tottering authority would not contribute to give it ſtability.

Louis ſent him a re-inforcement; and admiral Herbert was defeated by a French ſquadron, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud [x]. Conduct and character of William.

[x] Each admiral, as often happens in ſea-engagements, claimed the ſuperiority in public. But there was this difference in the private ſentiments of thoſe they commanded; that the Eng-

King William, who had declared war againſt France, and who did not taſte much tranquillity in England, prepared to repel his competitor. After ſome delays, which were attributed to the diviſions amongſt the miniſters, he ſent the duke of Schomberg to Ireland with an army, determining to go thither in perſon as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of government. Cold, reſerved, ſilent, continually ſhut up in his cabinet, taſting no pleaſure but that of the chace, ſpending his time at Hampton Court, becauſe the air of London diſagreed with his health, he had nothing popular in his behaviour, and began to loſe the affections of the Engliſh.

liſh officers and ſeamen termed it a defeat, not to have been victorious on their own element; and the French accounted it a victory, becauſe they were not defeated. The latter, however, made their embarkation good, and returned unmoleſted to their own country; which determined on which ſide the advantage lay. When the news of this advantage reached Ireland, D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, haſtened to James, to inform him, that the Engliſh fleet had been defeated by the French. James, with a generous peeviſhneſs, anſwered, *C'eſt bien la premiere fois donc.* "It is the firſt time then." DALRYMPLE.

Prudence

Prudence may even force nature. He ſuddenly adopted the manner, of the former monarchs, went to Newmarket, and appeared affable and complaiſant. He dined with the lord mayor, accepted the freedom of the city, and even deigned to be named the firſt maſter of the grocers company: a popularity of behaviour, exceſſive perhaps, if the prince, in deſcending to his people, had not known at the ſame time how to maintain his dignity.

The time preſcribed for taking the oaths was almoſt elapſed. A part of the clergy refuſed to do it, leſt they ſhould violate that which they had taken to king James. The greater number ſubmitted, with explanations, diſtinguiſhing a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure*; declaring they only took them to mark their peaceable ſubmiſſion to the powers in being. Such oaths could only cauſe diſtruſt, and ſeemed to open a door to perjury. There reſulted from hence, according to Dr. Smollet, a general contempt for oaths, which ceaſed to be uſeful, and became often pernicious, when conſcience admitted reſtrictions which

favored falſehood. The Engliſh clergy hated a Calviniſt king almoſt as much as a Catholic one. William knew the dangers attending the enthuſiaſm of ſects. He endeavored again to ſubdue it, by uniting the different ſectaries; but the convocation oppoſed theſe wiſe views. Their lower houſe employed the ancient form of the barons, *We will not that they change the laws of England.* One would have ſuppoſed, that the alteration of a few ceremonies would have cauſed the ruin of the ſtate. A ſubſidy of two millions ſterling, for the war, ſpoke more affection on the ſide of the parliament. The two factions which divided it, and which grew every day more violent, cauſed, notwithſtanding, ſo much uneaſineſs to William, that he was on the point of returning to Holland. Retained by the advice of ſome of his moſt zealous friends, he declared to the parliament his reſolution of going in perſon to carry on the war againſt king James, and ſome time after diſſolved the aſſembly.

Parliamentary factions.

A. D. 1690. A new parliament, where the Tories were the ſtrongeſt, was a freſh theatre of the moſt violent diſputes. They turned

turned principally on two bills, one to confirm the acts of the preceding aſſembly; the other to oblige men who accepted places to take an oath to abjure king James. The firſt paſſed, in ſpite of the Tories. They were alarmed at the conſequences which were to be apprehended, if there remained any doubts on the legality of the parliament by which the preſent government was eſtabliſhed. The ſecond bill, which the Whigs, in concert with the miniſtry, ſupported with all their power, met with the moſt determined oppoſition. The king deſired the commons to drop this affair; a ſtep which gave ſuch diſguſt to the earl of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, that nothing could prevail on him to keep his office. The Whigs had the vexation to ſee an act of indemnity paſs in favor of their adverſaries. The government was confided to the queen during William's abſence; and he parted for Ireland, where he was determined to appear. The brave Schomberg, grown old in arms, had not anſwered the national expectations. Sickneſs had weakened his troops. He had avoided a battle,

becauſe the ſuperiority of the enemy was too great; and they complained of a delay which was the effect of his prudence. William, with a greater force, was more active and more fortunate. King James imprudently reſolved to give him battle. His army, about equal to that of England, conſiſted of forty thouſand men. The river of the Boyne ſeparated them. Whilſt William was examining the ground, a cannon ball wounded his left ſhoulder, tore his clothes, and carried away a great deal of his hair. The enemy, thinking him dead, gave themſelves up to a fooliſh joy. This news paſſed rapidly into France. The people of Paris, credulous and blind in their hatred, ſignalized themſelves by public rejoicings, glorious to the prince whom they were intended to inſult [y]. William, notwithſtanding

[y] All the arts of a general, and a man of ſenſe, William put in practice, to draw the attention of his ſoldiers from the misfortunes of laſt year in Ireland, and the danger of the preſent. The ſame day, upon which all his troops, from different quarters, joined at Loch-Britland, which they did upon the 22d of June, he joined them; he ordered the army to paſs him, and threw a march into a review: for, inſtead of keeping his

his wound, rode along his lines, and, after having encouraged the troops by his preſence, gave orders for battle the next morning. The Engliſh paſſed the river, ſupported the ſhock of the Iriſh cavalry, and broke and diſperſed the infantry: Schomberg fought at the head of the French refugées. "There are your perſcutors," ſaid he; animating them at the ſame time by his example. This famous general, then eighty-two years of age, was killed by his own ſoldiers, who, ſeeing him ſurrounded by the Iriſh, fired on them with too little precaution. His death might have had fatal conſequences. William happily arrived at this important moment, and decided the victory [z]. He found no re-

one ſtation, he rode in amongſt his regiments ſo ſoon as they appeared, to encourage the ſoldiers, and to ſatisfy himſelf of the ſtate of every regiment. An order having been brought him to ſign, for wine for his table, he ſaid aloud, "No; he would drink water with his ſoldiers." He ſlept every night in the camp, flew from place to place to ſurvey the army or the country, and truſted nothing to others. DALRYMPLE.

[z] In the heat of the action, one of William's dragoons, miſtaking him, clapped a piſtol to his head: the king, turning it aſide, ſaid calmly to

ſiſtance, except from the troops of Louis the fourteenth. They retired in good order, whilſt the Iriſh fled in the utmoſt confuſion. James, a meer ſpectator of an action in which he ought to have taken part, was amongſt the firſt who left the field. His ancient courage was ſuppreſſed by misfortune. He reproached the Iriſh with their cowardice [a], and embarked for France, where he was certain of living in quiet.

A French ſquadron of more than ſeventy veſſels, under the command of vice admiral Tourville, had defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland; and this victory had rendered Louis maſter of the ocean. It did not, however, hinder William, after the battle, from purſuing a war

the ſoldier, "What! Do you not know your friends?" BURNET.

[a] His ſoldiers, upon hearing this, exclaimed, that, "complaints of cowardice came ill from the mouth of one who had been the firſt to fly from the battle, and the only perſon, not of foreign birth, who had fled from the kingdom; and that, if the Engliſh would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again."

STORY's Life of King William.

which

which was to fix him on the throne. The Iriſh, animated by the Catholic prieſts, ſhewed little regard to the declaration of indemnity which he publiſhed at Dublin. His generals took ſeveral towns: he beſieged Limerick in perſon. The bad ſeaſon, joined to the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, induced him to quit his enterprize, and return to England. After his departure, the celebrated Churchill, earl of Marlborough, took the cities of Cork and Kingſale, very important on account of their maritime ſituation; and the count de Lauzun, who commanded the French troops in Ireland, deſpairing of the Jacobite cauſe, thought himſelf obliged by prudence to leave the kingdom.

War with Louis.

The flame of war was now communicated to the continent. The greater part of Europe, armed againſt France by the league of Augſbourg, of which William had been the firſt mover, could not ſhake the power of this formidable monarch. The prince of Waldeck, general of the confederates, after having conquered marſhal D'Humieres at Valcour, had juſt been defeated at Fleurus by mar-

ſhal Luxembourg, the diſciple and imitator of the great Condé. William having obtained very conſiderable ſums from parliament, both for the augmentation of the navy, and the expences of the war, paſſed into Holland, where he was adored, and in
A. D. 1691. a ſolemn congreſs excited the allies to exert themſelves with vigor. He promiſed them twenty thouſand men for the firſt campaign, and ſent powerful ſuccours to the duke of Savoy, who had lately declared againſt France; but he had the mortification to ſee Mons fall into the hands of Louis, attacked on all ſides, yet on all ſides ſignalizing himſelf by conqueſts.

Ireland reduced. Whilſt William oppoſed the torrent in the Low Countries, baron Ginckle, his general in Ireland, completed the ruin of James's hopes. Athlone was carried by aſſault almoſt before the eyes of the Iriſh army. They were defeated at the deciſive battle of Aghrim; and Tyrconnel, the principal partizan of the ancient king, died of the ſorrow which this event cauſed him. The taking of Limerick filled up the meaſure of

Ginckle's

Ginckle's ſucceſſes. He granted to the beſieged an honorable capitulation, in which were comprehended all the places which had not yet ſubmitted. They agreed, that whoever acknowledged the authority of William and Mary, except a ſmall number of perſons, ſhould be reſtored to their poſſeſſions, privileges, and immunities, and admitted to the protection of the laws; that every one ſhould have the liberty of retiring, with his family and effects, in whatever country he choſe, England and Scotland excepted; that the government would even furniſh carriages and tranſport ſhips to thoſe who ſhould embrace this meaſure; that the Roman Catholics ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion, ſo far as ſuch a liberty accorded with the laws of Ireland, in the ſame manner as they had enjoyed it under Charles the ſecond. The Proteſtants exclaimed againſt this treaty. They ſaw with indignation popery tolerated, and the Iriſh unpuniſhed. But Ginckle had orders to put a ſpeedy end to the war; and his expedition was ſo much the more glorious, as Louis had ſent

troops, and an immenſe quantity of proviſions, to Limerick. Notwithſtanding the indemnity, and liberty of conſcience, twelve thouſand Iriſh choſe rather to leave their country than ſubmit to the government. France was their aſylum. James thanked them for their fidelity. Ought he not to have fought at their head, and ceded only to the laſt ſtroke of fortune?

Parliament. Complaints againſt the king.

Ginckle was rewarded for his ſervices by the title of earl of Athlone, and by the thanks of the commons of England. The parliament congratulated William on his ſucceſſes, witneſſing an extreme ardor to ſecond him. Theſe profeſſions were flattering rather than ſincere. A ſecret diſcontent ſpread itſelf over the kingdom. The king having obſerved in his ſpeech, that an army of ſixty-five thouſand men would be ſcarce ſufficient to carry on the war; they thought it ſtrange that he ſhould aſk more troops than the nation had ever maintained when threatened with the greateſt dangers; they even inſinuated, that ſuch an army might be the inſtrument of deſpotiſm; they eomplained

plained of bearing almoſt all the burthen of the war, without reaping any benefit from it; made ſevere reflexions on the conduct of the miniſters, and the character of the king; taxed him with pride and ingratitude, eſpecially in reſpect to the earl of Marlborough, who was diſgraced after his campaign in Ireland; and accuſed him of employing corruption to render himſelf maſter of the ſuffrages of parliament. The Jacobites exaggerated all theſe grievances; and the Whigs who were diſpleaſed with the court, did not expreſs themſelves in terms leſs bitter. The commons, however, granted the king a liberal ſupply. The parliamentary debates produced no dangerous effect.

Scotland was more agitated. From the beginning of this reign, epiſcopacy had been aboliſhed there, and William had treated the Preſbyterians with attention and complaiſance. Theſe hot enthuſiaſts having ſoon diſguſted him by their conduct, he favored the Epiſcopalians, who, in their turn, abuſed their growing credit againſt a ſect whom they deteſted. Indignation inflamed the zeal of the Preſbyterians. Scotland.

byterians. The diſſolution of their aſſembly appeared to them an act of tyranny. They aſſembled, contrary to the king's orders; and became the implacable cenſors of the government. William furniſhed matter for juſter complaints, by cauſing a clan of highlanders, to be maſſacred, whoſe chief, Macdonald, had taken the oaths of allegiance. An enemy of this Macdonald had repreſented him to the court as an obſtinate rebel. Perhaps the king was ignorant of his ſubmiſſion. A ſanguinary order was executed with barbarity. They cut the throats of a part of the inhabitants of the valley of Glenco; burnt the houſes, and carried off the cattle; the women and children remained in the midſt of the ſnows without ſuccour; and thoſe whom the ſword had ſpared, periſhed with cold or with hunger. This execution excited ſo many clamors, that the king ordered informations againſt the miniſters of this cruelty, and pretended ignorance of the contents of the order which was ſigned by his hand. The highlanders were not the leſs exaſperated, though yielding to terror;

Maſſacre of Glenco.

ror; and William's enemies took advantage of this circumſtance to darken his reputation.

This prince being returned into Holland, to direct the operations of the league, Louis the fourteenth, with a magnanimity worthy of admiration, made the greateſt efforts to reſtore the dethroned king. The blow was deſtined to fall on England. They prepared to make a deſcent there. The emiſſaries and adherents of James labored aſſiduouſly in his favor. He publiſhed a declaration, which avowed his intended invaſion; reminding his ſubjects of the uſurpation and injuſtice of the prince of Orange, the ſeverity of his government, the enormous expence to which he had put the nation to ſupport it, the neceſſity of breaking an odious yoke, and acknowledging the legal ſovereign; forbidding them to pay any taxes to the uſurper, promiſing pardon and even rewards to thoſe who returned to their duty; engaging himſelf to protect the church of England, to procure an intire liberty of conſcience, to render commerce and the marine flouriſhing;

A. D. 1692. New attempts of James.

flouriſhing; in ſhort, to remedy the evils of the nation, and eſtabliſh its future happineſs. Theſe flattering words could not efface the remembrance of thoſe grievances which had occaſioned the revolt. Whatever diſcontent there was amongſt the Engliſh, the general animoſity againſt James was ſtronger than the murmurs againſt his rival.

Queen Mary, charged with the adminiſtration in her huſband's abſence, oppoſed prudent meaſures to the deſigns of a father, whom ſhe unhappily treated as an enemy. She ordered the Catholics to quit London and Weſtminſter; ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were arreſted; the militia took arms; and admiral Ruſſel, reinforced by the Dutch ſquadron, put to ſea, with ninety-nine ſhips of the line, to fight the French fleet. Tourville, though inferior in number, had orders to attack the enemy. He fought bravely, and ſupported the glory of his nation. But his fleet was at length diſperſed, and fourteen great veſſels burnt in the road of La Hogue. King James, ready to put to ſea,

ſea, was an eye witneſs of this diſaſter [*b*]. He returned, deprived of all hope, to St. Germains. Louis in his turn, ſaw his dominions menaced with an invaſion. The Engliſh miniſtry, judging the ſeaſon too far advanced, abandoned the attempt, and excited murmurs amongſt the people, who expected great advantages from it.

Campaign in Flanders.

If the battle of La Hogue was mortifying to Louis, whoſe fortune till now ſeemed to have the dominion over events, he had wherewith to conſole himſelf by the ſucceſs of his arms in the Low Countries. He took Namur in perſon; Luxembourg, who covered the ſiege, managed with

[*b*] During this action, a generous exclamation burſt from James: for, when he ſaw the ſeamen in ſwarms ſcrambling up the high ſides of the French ſhips from their boats, he cried out, "Ah! none but my brave Engliſh could do ſo brave an action?" DALRYMPLE.

The original ſeverity of James's mind had been ſoftened into tenderneſs by his misfortunes. Sir Charles Littleton having ſome time before, ſaid to him, "he was aſhamed that his ſon was with the prince of Orange;" James interrupted him with theſe words, "Alas! Sir Charles, why aſhamed! are not my daughters with him?" DALRYMPLE.

ſuch

ſuch ſkill and ability, that William, at the head of a numerous army, could neither paſs the Mehaigne, nor relieve a place of ſuch importance. Luxembourg, though ſick, and ſurprized, defeated him ſome time after at Steinquerque; a famous action, in which the French performed prodigies of valor. William found inexhauſtible reſources in his genius. He kept the field as if he had not been defeated; and the tranſports of joy, which the gaining of this battle excited in France, were to him a ſpecies of triumph. It is often as glorious to repair a defeat as to gain a victory. A diſcovery was at this time made, of a conſpiracy againſt the life of this prince. Dr. Smollet, in attributing it, on idle reports, to the miniſtry of France, renders himſelf ſuſpected of an inexcuſable partiality. The miniſtry of Louis the fourteenth, eſpecially in the eyes of an Engliſhman, may appear to merit ſome reproaches. But they were incapable of contriving, or executing, ſo black an act of treachery.

Diſcontents.

The affairs of the continent could not but imbitter the minds of the Engliſh

Engliſh male-contents. They conſidered leſs the motives of reſiſting the formidable power of a monarch, repreſented as the oppreſſor of Europe, than the unhappy conſequences of a war which ruined and depopulated the kingdom. To hear them, "the king ſacrificed the ſtate to foreigners; the intereſts, and the wants, of his people touched him very little, in compariſon with the good of the Hollanders; impriſonments, and illegal acts of violence, made them feel all the weight of deſpotiſm; the miniſtry had no regard either to the laws or to public liberty; every one forgot his country in his perſonal intereſt; and theſe evils foretold greater, if ſudden remedies were not applied to them." The principles of individuals were in reality greatly altered. A number of perſons of low birth, ſuddenly enriched, diſplayed an extravagant luxury calculated to inſpire corruption; the ſhameful practice of purchaſing votes in parliament became but too common; the diſorder ſpread with rapidity; in ſhort, the ſpirit of faction, which exaggerates every thing, had ample materials to exerciſe its malignity.

Corruption.

Debates in parliament.

malignity. William, at his return from Holland, found more fermentation than ever. There were great debates in the houſe of lords, in reſpect to ſome peers who had been impriſoned; and they voted, that the judges, and thoſe who had in their cuſtody priſoners accuſed of treaſon, ought to conform to the act of *Habeas Corpus*, and admit them to bail, unleſs it was declared on oath, that there were two witneſſes againſt them, which could not yet be produced. The king prevented the conſequences of this affair, by ordering the priſoners to be diſcharged. The commons, on the other ſide, examined the reaſons which had hindered the deſcent on France; they debated on giving the king advice on a variety of ſubjects. The influence of the court, the uſual methods of ſeduction, ſlackened this reſtleſs activity; and the houſe granted ſupplies with an unexampled prodigality; about two millions for the navy, more than three millions for the land forces, and the continental war; fifty-four thouſand men, of whom twenty thouſand were appropriated to the defence of the nation.

Liberal ſupplies.

nation. Land, perſonal property, all offices which were not military, were taxed at four ſhillings in the pound. A clauſe added by the lords, importing that they would tax themſelves, appeared to the commons a violation of the right they poſſeſſed, of regulating all which regarded the ſupplies. The lords withdrew this clauſe; declaring at the ſame time, that they thought themſelves authorized to ſupport it; but that they conſented to paſs the bill only in conſideration of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding the ſervile complaiſance of the two houſes, they formed ſome deſigns contrary to the wiſhes of the court. They petitioned the king to diſſolve the Eaſt-India company, who were accuſed of great abuſes; and brought in a bill for triennial parliaments, in order to render them more free by the greater frequency of elections. But William rendered theſe projects abortive. His prerogative, and his addreſs, carried it above the efforts of the male-contents.

A. D. 1693. Battle of Landen. William defeated.

He repaſſed the ſea, to put himſelf at the head of the allies, Luxembourg ſurprized and attacked him, near

near the village of Neer-Winden, with a very ſuperior army. The king did not loſe a moment, ranged his troops in order of battle, expoſed himſelf to every danger, but was at length obliged to cede to the numbers and valor of the enemy. Defeated, he made a glorious retreat, continued ſtill formidable; and the French reaped no other advantage from their victory than that of taking Charleroi [c]. Germany, Piedmont, were at the ſame time theatres of carnage. The Palatinate was inhumanly ravaged by De Lorges; the duke of Savoy, who had carried deſolation into Dauphiné the preceding year, was defeated at Marſeilles by Catinat. But Louis, in ſpite of ſo many celebrated victories, found every where enemies capable of reſiſting him. War is a ſcourge of ſo terrible a nature, that, after having ſtrowed with dead bodies the field of battle, it produces often only vain

Sequel of the war.

[c] The prince of Conti, in a letter to his princeſs, which was intercepted, declared, that he ſaw the prince of Orange expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; and that ſuch valour nobly deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wore. SMOLLET.

and

and fruitleſs rejoicings. Since the misfortune of La Hogue, the French marine had repaired its loſſes. The commerce of the allies ſuffered prodigiouſly. One of their fleets of merchant ſhips was attacked, and loſt a million ſterling. The Engliſh attempted to revenge themſelves on St. Malo, the privateers from whence continually annoyed them. The *infernal* machine, a name it well deſerved, that machine by which they hoped to have blown up the city, ſtruck on a rock, before it reached the place of its deſtination. The engineer having ſet fire to it, it blew up; and the exploſion was ſo violent, that the windows in St. Malo were all broke, a great number of houſes unroofed, and the earth violently ſhook more than three leagues round. Such is the cruel ingenuity of mankind, to deſtroy their fellow-creatures!

*Infernal machine.*

A. D. 1694. The king obtains all he aſks of parliament.

Though the ſucceſs of the war did not anſwer the national hopes, and excited every day violent murmurs, yet the parliament, gained by the court, were laviſh of ſupplies. William, without being beloved, and even the object of reſentment to a numerous faction,

faction, yet obtained all he wiſhed of the commons; whilſt, on the moſt preſſing occaſions, his predeceſſors had not been able to obtain the moſt neceſſary ſuccours. Some of the male-contents drew the veil from before the ſprings he had put in action; penſions, places, favors, thoſe various methods of corruption by which the mind of man is eaſily ſeduced, when once ſelf-love is become the governing paſſion. The parliament had loſt its integrity and principles. The greater part of the members, purſuing their private advantage, gave themſelves no concern about their country. An ambitious and politic king could not therefore fail of ſucceeding in his deſigns. The national ſpirit, however, joined to the ſpirit of faction, renewed the parliamentary diſputes. They examined the conduct of thoſe who had been entruſted with the affairs of the navy; inſiſted on the more frequent calling and meeting of parliaments; and preſented a bill to ſecure parliamentary freedom and impartiality. William refuſed to give the royal aſſent to this bill, which was a new ſubject of complaints. Another

Parliamentary affairs.

bill for the naturalization of foreign Proteſtants, merited all the attention of the public. Opinions were divided on this important ſubject. One party repreſented the ravages of war, the depopulation of the kingdom, the decay of agriculture; the induſtry and riches of the refugees reſiding in England, the hope of drawing thither every day a greater number, who would give citizens to the ſtate, and multiply the reſources of manufactures and commerce. They inſiſted, on the other ſide, that foreigners, by ſharing the manual labors of the Engliſh, would be hurtful to them; that, after having amaſſed riches at their expence, they would leave the kingdom; that a multitude of workmen were already periſhing with hunger, for want of employment; and that the evil, far from diminiſhing, would be increaſed by the new ſyſtem; in ſhort, that to admit ſo many Non-conformiſts into the number of citizens, was to expoſe the church of England to danger. The laſt ſentiment was defended with the moſt extravagant warmth. This ardor reached the people, who apprehended ſeeing the ſtate and religion a

Bill for the naturalization of Proteſtants.

prey to ſtrangers. Popular prejudices are ſometimes formidable. The court party, deſpairing to conquer them, withdrew the bill, and waited a leſs ſtormy ſeaſon.

Triennial parliament.

After the campaign in Flanders, which merits no particular detail, William, according to his cuſtom, ſummoned the parliament, to aſk new ſupplies. He purchaſed them by conſenting to a triennial bill. By this bill, a parliament was to be held at leaſt once in three years; it was to continue only three years at the moſt; and in the ſame ſpace of time, after its diſſolution, the king was obliged to iſſue writs for another. The ſupplies amounted to four millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. Theſe prodigious expences, compared to the former œconomy of the commons, proves at the ſame time the great increaſe of wealth, and the alteration in the parliamentary ſyſtem.

The death of the queen.

This year died queen Mary [*d*], at the age of

[*d*] On the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign. Burnet ſays of her, "ſhe was the moſt lamented princeſs, and deſerved the beſt to be ſo, of any in our age, or in our hiſtory." His cha-

thirty-

thirty-two; a princeſs of a mild diſpoſition, much attached to her huſband, but blameable towards her father. The king regretted her the more, becauſe his own rights to the crown became now more uncertain. He had, as well as Mary, been ſome time on ill terms with the princeſs Anne, their preſumptive heir. An apparent reconciliation brought them together, without rendering them friends. William, when he parted for the Low Countries, named a council of regency. Neither the princeſs, nor her huſband the prince of Denmark, had any ſhare in the adminiſtration; a new ſubject of complaint to the diſcontented party.

racter of her, a work diſtinct from his hiſtory, and to which the reader is referred, is drawn with a maſterly hand. Her character is alſo drawn with great ſpirit by Boyer, from whom the tranſlator has taken the following deſcription of her: "Her perſon was tall and well-proportioned; her ſhape, while princeſs of Orange, eaſy and genteel; her complexion light brown; her viſage oval, her eyes quick and lively, and the reſt of her features regular. Her ſtately port and native air of greatneſs commanded reſpect from the moſt confident; but her ſweet and graceful countenance tempered the awfulneſs of majeſty, and her affable temper encouraged the moſt timorous to approach her."

A. D. 1695. Taking of Namur by William.

Till this time, the king, generally unfortunate at the head of armies, had only gained the glory of ſtopping the progreſs of the French arms. He acquired more by the conqueſt of Namur. Marſhal Boufflers, an excellent citizen, and diſtinguiſhed general, had thrown himſelf into the place; fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men defended it; near an hundred thouſand, under the command of marſhal Villeroi, threatened the beſiegers with a battle; the beſieged fought with the moſt intrepid valor. Yet William took Namur, as Louis had done. The French bombarded Bruſſels, to revenge the bombardment of Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, executed by the Engliſh the preceding year. The latter attempted new bombardments, with leſs ſucceſs than fury. All Europe was in flames, exhauſted of men and money, for the intereſts of princes who perhaps felt no concern for the calamities of their ſubjects.

New parliament.

William was received in triumph by the Engliſh. The taking of Namur merited their acclamations. He forced his diſpoſition, and affected a popularity,

larity, too contrary to his nature to produce any durable effect. The laſt parliament having been diſſolved, he called a new one, which granted him a ſupply of ſix millions. The taxes were enormous, multiplied to infinity; the nation complained, yet was not the leſs laviſh of the national treaſures. Hatred to France certainly contributed to this as much as the intrigues of the court. This parliament paſſed a celebrated act in reſpect to trials for high treaſon, a matter ſo important, and which we have ſeen ſubject to ſuch abuſes. It was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould receive a copy of the accuſation five days before the trial commenced; that they ſhould be allowed counſel to defend them; that no one ſhould be accuſed, but on the depoſition of two reputable witneſſes; that, if there were ſeveral heads of accuſation, two witneſſes ſhould be only accounted one, when they did not ſwear to the ſame fact; that the accuſed ſhould have a liſt of the witneſſes two days before the preparation for trial; and that no accuſation ſhould be admitted three years after the commiſſion of the crime, unleſs

Act reſpecting high treaſon.

it concerned an actual attempt againſt the life of the king. The peers added a clauſe, that a peer ſhould only be judged by the whole body of peers. This law, ſooner eſtabliſhed, would have ſaved the lives of many innocent and illuſtrious perſons: liberty would have had a rampart both againſt revenge and deſpotiſm. It is a deplorable circumſtance, that legiſlation ſhould improve ſo ſlowly in points the moſt intereſting to humanity! How much do the proceedings in criminal cauſes ſtill want reformation! Another bill paſſed into a law, for the recoinage of the ſpecie, which was greatly adulterated. The advice of Sir Iſaac Newton regulated this affair; that of Mr. Lock was not unuſeful. Men of letters, happy in a ſuperior portion of ſagacity and knowledge, may contribute more than is ſuppoſed to the proſperity of ſtates.

A. D. 1696. Diſcovery of a conſpiracy.

From the commencement of this reign, the public had often been amuſed with chimerical conſpiracies, the falſity of which had been acknowledged. A real one was formed, to carry off, or aſſaſſinate William, and to reſtore his rival. The earl of Ayleſ-

Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, and ſome other perſons of leſs diſtinction, were at the head of this plot. The duke of Berwick, natural ſon to James, came privately into the kingdom, animated the zeal of the Jacobites, aſſured them of an approaching deſcent, and concerted meaſures for this attempt. Whilſt the conſpirators labored to increaſe their party, and to aſſemble troops, James came to Calais, intending to embark. Pendergraſs, an Iriſh officer and a papiſt, revealed all to William; declaring, however, that his intimate connexions with ſome of the criminals would not permit him to accuſe them by name, nor to appear as an evidence in this affair. They took meaſures immediately to diſpel the tempeſt; admiral Ruſſel ſailed to the coaſt of France, and diſconcerted James's deſigns. The two houſes, informed of the conſpiracy by the king himſelf, zealouſly formed an aſſociation in his defence, engaging to ſupport his government, and to revenge all attempts againſt his perſon: he, on his ſide, proteſted, he would be always ready to reſiſt, at the hazard of his life, all

Aſſociation in defence of the king.

thoſe who ſhould attempt to overturn the laws, religion, and liberties of the kingdom. The commons declared all who did not enter into this aſſociation, incapable of public employments, or a ſeat in parliament. The earl of Nottingham, and two members of the lower houſe [*e*], had the hardineſs to object to the title of *lawful* king, which the act gave to king William. "They owed him obedience," they ſaid, "as in the poſſeſſion of the crown and its prerogatives; but could not acknowledge him their *lawful* ſovereign." The expreſſion was, however, changed in tenderneſs to ſcrupulous conſciences; ſo far was the prince's authority from being firmly eſtabliſhed. Several of the conſpirators were put to death. Their trials were conducted with equal partiality and rigor. It appeared certain, that the greater part had no deſign againſt William's life, and that king James was unjuſtly accuſed of this black attempt. His endeavors to regain his crown, were conformable to juſtice, though not to pru-

[*e*] Sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Finch.

dence,

dence, a quality much more neceſſary to enſure their ſucceſs.

Amongſt the conſpirators, Sir John Fenwick acted a diſtinguiſhed part. William was very anxious for his conviction. Two witneſſes had accuſed him; but one of them diſappeared before he had given his evidence in a judicial way. Can ſimple written depoſitions, neither accompanied with an oath, or the ordinary forms, be admiſſible? This was a ſubject of a very warm debate in parliament. Thoſe who ſpoke in defence of the accuſed perſons inſiſted, that, according to all rules, the witneſs ought to be preſent, in order to be contradicted if he merited it; that depoſitions left by perſons dead were never admitted, and that thoſe of the abſent were equally null: that the parliament, though not ſubject to the rules of inferior courts, was yet to the eternal and invariable ones of juſtice and equity; that, in ſhort, the late act to regulate trials for high treaſon, would be violated by a contrary practice. Theſe plauſible arguments, in which humanity and rational liberty were ſo nearly intereſt- Trial of Fenwick.

ed, were too weak againſt the party of the court.

In the pretext of ſecurity to the government, they loſt all regard to eſtabliſhed principles, though the government could have no better ſecurity than the laws. The bill of attainder paſſed both houſes; and Fenwick was executed, proteſting his attachment to king James, but atteſting heaven that he was engaged in no conſpiracy for his ſervice.

The war continued on the continent with the ſame animoſity, but without the ſame efforts, all parties being weakened. Notwithſtanding the ardor of William, the campaign in Flanders was barren of events. Louis the fourteenth, ſtill ſuperior to his enemies, though leſs ſucceſsful than before, was deſirous of peace; in the deſign, it was ſaid, of acquiring to his family the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. He ſucceeded in detaching the duke of Savoy from the grand alliance, by very advantageous offers. The negotiations were ſoon after opened at Ryſwick. The taking of Barcelona, of which the duke of Vendome made himſelf maſter, the glorious expedition of Carthagena in America,

A. D. 1697. Treaty of Ryſwick.

America, where Pointis took eight millions [*f*] from the Spaniards, and did them irreparable damage, with four French armies on foot, haſtened the concluſion of the treaty. Louis ſacrificed almoſt all his conqueſts. He reſtored, to Spain, Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, Courtrai, beſides what he had taken towards the Pyrenées; to the empire, Fribourg, Briſac, Philipſbourg, &c. He at length acknowledged the prince of Orange for king of England. Thus William, after having ſet all Europe in flames, after having ruined his own dominions, without any other motive than his hatred and jealouſy of this powerful monarch, ſaw his throne firmly eſtabliſhed by a treaty, whilſt France abandoned the fruit of her victories. Poſterity would feel more admiration for the generoſity of Louis, if political reaſons had not coincided with humanity, in making him act a part at which his ſubjects murmured. The burthen of the war was become intolerable. The conquerors ſuffered equally with the conquered. It was

[*f*] Of crowns.

neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the finances, and to relieve the people. That which moſt merits our aſtoniſhment, is not a peace purchaſed at the price of a few towns; it is a war where human blood ran in ſtreams, to gratify the ambition of a few princes. William, by arming Europe againſt Louis, had, if the expreſſion may be allowed, delivered it up to the ravages of a general peſtilence [g].

William deſires a ſtanding army. The commons oppoſe it.

After his return to England, the parliament were laviſh in their congratulations, but oppoſed all his deſigns. This prince, warlike, politic, and ambitious, wiſhed a ſtanding army, which might render him reſpectable both at home and abroad. Louis, by keeping up the greater part of his troops, ſeemed to lay other powers

[g] In this paſſage, Monſ. Milot, notwithſtanding all his candor, is a Frenchman; every unprejudiced reader will grant, that the ambition of Louis the fourteenth, not that of William, was the cauſe of this, and all the wars, which ſo long deſolated Europe. That William drew England too far into the continental war, we yet ſeverely feel; but it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop the ambitious deſigns of Louis, by ſuch a confederacy as he formed againſt him.

under

under the neceſſity of purſuing the ſame ſyſtem. Some patriots amongſt the Engliſh felt the force of this argument. The greater part were alarmed at the propoſal. "It tended, they ſaid, to introduce deſpotiſm. The nation would ſoon loſe its liberties, if mercenaries were in the ſervice of the government: this cuſtom, if once eſtabliſhed, would ſoon be converted into a maxim of ſtate; and elections, parliaments, all would depend on the caprice of the court: was not the kingdom ſufficiently defended by the ocean which ſurrounded it? wherefore not form a regular militia? would not this militia be more zealous than mercenary ſoldiers? and, by adding to it a formidable fleet, would not the kingdom be ſecure from any invaſion?" Theſe reaſons prevailed. They kept only ten thouſand land forces on foot; they added three thouſand for the navy. William, extremely diſguſted with ſuch a reſolution, aſſured, they ſay, his confidents, "that he would have taken no part in the affairs of England, if he had foreſeen ſo much ingratitude and diſtruſt."

The

A. D. 1698. Second India company.

The attention of the commons was turned on the public occaſions, and the means of acquitting the national debt. The new ſubſidies amounted to near five millions. An immenſe credit ſcarce ſufficed to raiſe ſuch ſums. The India company offered to lend ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, on conſideration of a parliamentry ſettlement. Another company of merchants offered to advance two millions, provided the government would grant them an excluſive trade to the Eaſt-Indies. The old company, in vain, repreſented the ſervices they had done, the loſſes they had ſuſtained, the expences they had incurred. The bill in favor of the ſecond paſſed both houſes, without regard to the former charters, or the fortune of a multitude of families.

Of all the objects which intereſt nations, none is more eſſential, nor more generally neglected, than morals. Without them, riches, power, become only ſources of poiſon. The cries of the citizens infect the body of the ſtate; or rather, as there are no true citizens without virtue, the ſtate finds in its own boſom almoſt as many ene-

mies

mies as ſubjects, and its greatneſs is a preſage of its ruin! The parliament, which ſaw corruption ſpreading like a contagion, felt the neceſſity of oppoſing ſome barriers to its progreſs. They repreſented to the king the exceſs of diſorder; and prayed him to give orders to all the magiſtrates and judges, to put the laws againſt impiety and debauchery in execution. This requeſt was favorably received. The king promiſed to labor without delay for the reformation of manners; and expreſſed his zeal for the ſuppreſſion of impious books, the ordinary effect of which is to corrupt at once the heart and the underſtanding. It is rare that theſe kind of projects are executed. A ſociety was inſtituted for the reformation of manners, which William protected. The members engaged to inform the magiſtrates of all the debaucheries and vices which came to their knowledge; the fines were in part appropriated to form a charitable fund; a number of eccleſiaſtics were appointed to inſpire virtue by lectures and public prayers, and the ſociety provided liberally for their ſupport. This eſtabliſhment, and many

Society for the reformation of manners.

many others of the ſame nature in England, cannot fail of being uſeful, eſpecially to the poor, to whom they furniſh great reſources. But informations of this nature are too odious, and inſpire too much diſtruſt, to anſwer the purpoſes of virtue. It is the part of men in power, to watch over the morals of their fellow citizens; and to reform morals, powerful ſprings are in general neceſſary, which the government alone can uſe with ſucceſs. The example of the court would be perhaps the moſt efficacious.

A. D. 1699. The king obliged to diſmiſs his Dutch guard.

William, whoſe mind was always occupied by the political affairs of Europe, ſeeing the king of Spain on the point of dying without poſterity, paſſed into Holland, to negotiate the Partition treaty, of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more at large. At his return, he found new mortifications from a parliament which he had juſt ſummoned. Inſtead of ten thouſand men, the number fixed by the laſt parliament, he had kept on foot ſixteen thouſand. The commons made him ſenſible of their diſapprobation of this meaſure. They reduced the troops

troops in pay to ſeven thouſand, and obliged the king to diſmiſs his Dutch guard, whoſe ſervices merited his gratitude. His remonſtrances on this ſubject had no effect. They reminded him of his promiſe to diſmiſs all his foreign troops. They gave him to underſtand, that the happineſs of the kingdom depended on the mutual confidence of king and people; that this confidence demanded that he ſhould entruſt to his ſubjects the guard of his ſacred perſon. He yielded, though unwillingly. The mutual antipathy increaſed on both ſides, under the forced appearances of affection and zeal. The Engliſh, devoured with jealouſy, could not pardon William his partiality for ſtrangers; William regarded the Engliſh as an ungrateful and mutinous people, gave himſelf up to the moſt lively diſguſt, and ſcarce took the pains to diſſemble his ſentiments.

The parliament diſpleaſe the king.

Nothing is ſo dangerous as to embitter the minds of obſtinate men, whoſe power may reſiſt or counterbalance that of the prince. The commons ſeemed henceforth to ſtudy to diſpleaſe this hero, this politician, who

who had in ſome ſort governed the greater part of Europe. They enquired into his adminiſtration; cenſured the miniſtry; reſtored the old Eaſt-India company; declared the papiſts incapable of inheriting or purchaſing eſtates, falſely ſuppoſing they were favored by the court; they debated, whether they ſhould demand of the king the diſmiſſion of lord Somers, the learned and virtuous chancellor. Some time after, William took the ſeals from Somers, to conciliate the Tories, whoſe party was then predominant in parliament. One may judge of the painful ſituation of this imperious prince, by the neceſſity in which he found himſelf of paſſing from one party to another, and of diſpelling ſtorms by forcing his inclinations.

Affairs of the Scots company.

Scotland did not give him leſs vexation. The Scots had formed a trading company, which the Engliſh and Dutch regarded with jealouſy as a dangerous rival. Animated with the ſame ſpirit of gain which had tranſported ſo many Europeans into the new world, they eſtabliſhed, at a great expence, a colony on the iſthmus of Darien, between South and North

North America. This eſtabliſhment did not reſemble the bloody conqueſts of the Spaniards: it was made by agreement with the natives of the country. But the Spaniards exclaimed, that it was an infraction of the laſt treaty; and the Engliſh, that it would ruin their commerce. William forbad all intercourſe with the new colony. The Scots, diſappointed of the treaſures they had promiſed themſelves, breathed only fury. Their parliament adopted the national ſentiments. All threatened a revolt. It was only by time, addreſs, and flattering promiſes, the king ſtopped the progreſs of this flame.

A. D. 1700. Partition treaty.

The king of Spain, Charles the ſecond, was every hour expected to die without children. His death threatened to deſtroy the balance of Europe. Louis the fourteenth, and the emperor Leopold, were related to him in the ſame degree; and the renunciation made by Louis and queen Maria Thereſa of Auſtria, eldeſt daughter to Philip the fourth, appeared too weak an engagement to tranquillize the adverſaries of France. Whether the ſucceſſion came to this crown

crown or to Auſtria, equal danger would reſult to the balance of power. William, whoſe daring policy never ſlept, contrived a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, which might diſpel theſe apprehenſions. To diſpoſe of the dominions of a living monarch, without his conſent, was an attempt as extraordinary as it was hazardous. France, England, and Holland, concluded, notwithſtanding, a treaty in 1698, by which the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the province of Guipuſcoa, and ſeveral other places dependant on Spain, were deſtined to the dauphin; the Milaneze to the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon to the emperor; and the reſt to the electoral prince of Bavaria, then about eight years old. This prince died the ſame year. New negotiations, and a new treaty of partition, took place. The archduke was ſubſtituted to the prince of Bavaria; they added Lorrain to the dauphin's ſhare, and gave Milan to the duke of Lorrain. This treaty, ſigned at London and The Hague, diſpleaſed the Engliſh themſelves, as too advantageous to France. The emperor refuſed to accede to it, either

ther becauſe he thought it unjuſt, or becauſe he flattered himſelf with having all.

Charles the ſecond, fired with indignation at the partition made of his dominions, intended making a will in favor of the archduke: but the court of Vienna gave him ſuch diſguſt, by a conduct equally haughty and indiſcreet, that he changed his reſolution. The marquis of Harcourt, ambaſſador from Louis, managed the temper of the Spaniards, on the contrary, with the moſt conſummate dexterity. Their ancient antipathy to France grew every day weaker. The grandees of Spain dreaded, as much as their maſter, a diſmemberment of the monarchy. They ſaw only France capable of preventing this misfortune. They counſelled Charles to prefer a French prince; pope Innocent the twelfth, who was conſulted on this affair, approved their opinion, which he judged conformable to the laws of Spain, and the intereſts of religion. Louis cauſed troops to advance. It became neceſſary to take ſome reſolution. The expiring monarch ſacrificed the intereſts of his family to thoſe of his king-

kingdom [*b*], and named the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the dauphin, his univerſal heir; taking every neceſſary precaution to prevent the union of the two crowns on the ſame head; ſo much he reſpected the general ſyſtem which prevailed in Europe [*i*].

[*b*] Louis the fourteenth, in accepting the will, did the very contrary.

[*i*] The right of the Spaniards, an independent nation, to regulate their own ſucceſſion, to receive the prince whom their dying monarch had called to it; and the right of England and Holland to regulate this ſucceſſion, to divide, and parcel out, this monarchy in different lots, it would be equally fooliſh to go about to eſtabliſh. One is too evident, the other too abſurd, to admit of any proof.—Let us now conſider the ſame conjuncture in a view of policy.—Garth might be right, when he ſaid, in one of his Poems at that time,

"—— an Auſtrian prince alone,
Is fit to nod upon a Spaniſh throne."

The ſetting an Auſtrian prince upon it was, no doubt, the ſureſt expedient to prevent an union of the two monarchies of France and Spain; juſt as ſetting a prince of the houſe of Bourbon on that throne, was the ſureſt expedient to prevent an union of the Spaniſh and Imperial crowns; but it was equally falſe to ſay, in either caſe, that this was the ſole expedient. It would be no paradox, but a propoſition eaſily proved, to advance, that, if theſe unions had been effectually provided againſt, the general intereſt

Thus

Thus the ſcene of the world ſhifts ſuddenly, by ſprings to us unſeen and inconceivable. When France and Spain diſputed, with ſuch ſanguinary fury, a ſuperiority ſubject to a thouſand changes of fortune, who could have believed a prince of the houſe of Bourbon would have been called to the throne of Spain, by a deſcendant of Charles the fifth? Thoſe whoſe narrow ideas contract the bounds of *poſſibility*, have never reflected on theſe aſtoniſhing revolutions.

Louis accepts the will.

The will of Charles the ſecond was kept ſecret till his death. Louis heſitated whether he ſhould accept it, foreſeeing a war more furious than the preceding ones. His courage ſoon determined him [*k*]. After having accepted the will, he took care to juſtify his conduct. He repreſented to the king of England, and the States General,

of Europe would have been little concerned whether Philip or Charles nodded at Madrid. Lord BOLINBROKE.

[*k*] Madame de Maintenon had an unſpeakable fondneſs for the duke of Anjou; ſhe therefore prevailed on the dauphin to accept the will, and ſet aſide the treaty; and ſhe engaged Monſ. Pont-Chartrain to ſecond this. Continuation of RAPIN.

what

what complaints the partition treaty had excited; and how impracticable would be its execution; and that, in renouncing this treaty, he made the greateſt ſacrifices to peace and the common good; ſince he gave up Sicily, Naples, and all that France would have acquired. Theſe reaſons were juſt and ſolid. But the greatneſs of his houſe gave as much umbrage as that of his kingdom. The extreme ſurprize, however, which this event cauſed, prevent the allies, at firſt, from declaring themſelves. Holland acknowledged Philip the fifth. William diſſembled. Believing himſelf deſtined to maintain the balance, and imagining the greatneſs of the Bourbons threatened the liberties of Europe, he already reſpired war, and projected a league to kindle a new flame on the continent.

Act to limit the ſucceſſion.

As the preſent parliament was unfavorable to his views, he ſummoned another, which he hoped to govern. He omitted none of thoſe methods of corruption ſince become ſo common, and which are ſo much calculated to ſtifle the voice of patriotiſm. He eaſily found ſome venal minds, who proſti-

proſtituted their wills and conſciences for gain; but they were not very numerous. The firſt debates of this aſſembly had a very important affair for their object. The duke of Glo- A. D. 1701.
ceſter, the only remaining child of the princeſs Anne, the heireſs to the throne, was lately dead. In order to exclude all Catholic princes from the ſucceſſion, to fix it in the Proteſtant line, and at the ſame time maintain the national liberty, the commons enacted, "That whoever ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhall join in communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed. That, in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament. That no perſon, who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament. That, from

and after the time the further limitation by this act ſhall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy council, by the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, ſhall be tranſacted there, and all reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by ſuch of the privy council as ſhall adviſe and conſent to the ſame. That, after the limitation ſhall take effect, no perſon born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, or made a denizen (except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents), ſhall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either houſe of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of truſt, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown, to himſelf, or to any others in truſt for him. That no perſon, who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a penſion from the crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as a member of the houſe of commons. That, after the limitation

limitation ſhall take effect, judges commiſſions be made, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed: but, upon the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them. That no pardon under the great ſeal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament." After this regulation, which reſtrained the prerogative, and ſeemed to convey a cenſure of the preſent government, they declared the princeſs Sophia, dutcheſs dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James the firſt, the neareſt heir, in the Proteſtant line, after the reſpective deſcendants of the king, and the princeſs Anne. The bill paſſed into an act, notwithſtanding William's repugnance, and eſtabliſhed the rights of the houſe of Hanover to the crown [*l*].

[*l*] The dutcheſs of Savoy, Anne of Orleans, daughter to princeſs Henrietta of England, entered a proteſt againſt the act of ſucceſſion.

Lamberti ſays, ſix lords came to the count de Briançon, and propoſed to him, that the duke of Savoy ſhould ſend one of his ſons to be educated in England in the Proteſtant religion; declaring, that, in that caſe, the act for the Hanover ſucceſſion ſhould never paſs. The duke refuſed his conſent.

The parliament blames the partition treaty.

The affair of Spain afterwards occupied the parliament, and drew on the king ſtill more ſenſible mortifications. The money of Louis the fourteenth was, it is ſaid, employed to ſolicit ſuffrages. However this might be, the commons, far from approving William's meaſures, did not ſcruple to cenſure them with the utmoſt bitterneſs. The partition treaty became a ſubject of invective. They complained, that it had been made without the advice of parliament, and tended to the aggrandizement of France. One of the members called it a felony, another compared it to the diſtribution made by highwaymen of their booty. The peers themſelves repreſented it, in an addreſs to the king, as incompatible with the intereſts of this kingdom, and the ſecurity of Europe; they prayed his majeſty to take the advice of his ſubjects, to believe them more worthy of his confidence than foreigners, and more likely to give him ſalutary counſels; they added, that they adviſed him, in all his negotiations with the king of France, to take every precaution which could render them ſafe and uſeful.

Though

Though theſe proceedings were an inſult, William diſſembled his reſentment; and replied, that his treaties ſhould have the honor and ſecurity of England for their object. Louis the fourteenth would recede nothing from that of Ryſwick. Diſguſted at the exorbitant propoſals made him by the court of London, and the States General, he endeavored to form alliances, and prepared for a war, which ſeemed inevitable. Holland was already threatened. The parliament expreſſed their ardor to aſſiſt the Dutch, but without ſhewing leſs reſentment againſt the partition treaty, and the miniſters to whom they attributed it. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Halifax, were impeached by the houſe of commons with as much injuſtice as paſſion. The upper houſe acquitted them. Animoſity inflamed all hearts. An extraordinary petition of the county of Kent, to exhort the parliament to concord, heated the commons, who declared it ſcandalous, inſolent, and malicious, and ordered ſeveral gentlemen to be arreſted on this account. A memorial now appeared, ſigned

The miniſters impeached. Civil diſturbances.

*Legion*, full of invectives againſt the houſe. *Engliſhmen*, concludes this libel, *are no more to be ſlaves to parliaments than to kings. Our name is Legion, and we are many.* So much hardineſs in the people was not unuſeful to the king. The commons promiſed to ſecond him in all his meaſures to ſet bounds to the exceſſive power of France; and voted him about two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, for the expences of the approaching year.

League againſt Louis the fourteenth.

William, who had acknowledged the new king of Spain, was, however, determined to dethrone him. In an infirm and languiſhing body, he preſerved that activity of genius, capable of puſhing the greateſt enterprizes with vigor. He ſent the earl of Marlborough into Holland at the head of ten thouſand men, and named him his plenipotentiary to the States. The ſuperior talents of this miniſter, both for war and negotiation, rendered the choice equally glorious to his prince and himſelf. The famous prince Eugene, the emperor's general, had already begun the war in Italy, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of his reputation.

tation. William came to The Hague, where he negotiated an alliance againſt the houſe of Bourbon. England, and Holland, joined the emperor, in order to render him maſter of the Spaniſh Netherlands, of Naples, Sicily, and the Milaneze; and to prevent, in concert, the union of France and Spain under the ſame government. The two Maritime Powers were to keep the conqueſts they might make in America: a barrier was aſſured to the Hollanders; and the parties mutually engaged to conclude neither peace nor truce but by common conſent.

Louis acknowledges the ſon of James the ſecond for king of England.

After a long courſe of proſperity, and of victories, Louis depended too much on his power to be afraid of the ſtorm which was gathering againſt him. He ſeemed even haughtily to brave it, by a generous meaſure, calculated to irritate his enemies. King James being dead [*m*], he gave

[*m*] King *James* died the 10th of Sept. N. S. with great marks of devotion; and was interred in the church of the *Engliſh Benedictines*, in the ſuburbs of *St. James*, at *Paris*, in a private manner, and without any ſort of ſolemnity, as he had deſired.—He was naturally a man of

the title of king of England to the ſon of this unfortunate prince [n]. In vain did he declare in a manifeſto, that he had no intention to depart from the treaty of Ryſwick, or to trouble William in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. The Engliſh, already diſpoſed to war, thought themſelves inſulted, and breathed only vengeance. One general intereſt now united all parties; their reſolutions were unanimous. The king made a ſpeech to the new parliament. He told them, "That the eyes of all Europe were upon that parliament, all matters at a ſtand till their reſolutions were known, and that therefore no time ought to be loſt. That this was the time to ſecure to themſelves and their poſterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themſelves, but exerted

A. D. 1702. William's ſpeech.

truth, fidelity, and juſtice: but his religion was ſo infuſed in him, and he was ſo managed in it by his prieſts, that the principles which nature had laid in him, had little power over him, when the concerns of his church came in the way. Continuation of RAPIN.

[n] Louis was perſuaded to take this impolitic ſtep by Madame Maintenon, who could not reſiſt the ſolicitations of James's queen.

the

the ancient vigor of the Engliſh nation; that the preſent conjuncture demanded great efforts; that public credit could only be preſerved by keeping ſacred that maxim, *that they ſhall never be loſers, who truſt to a parliamentary ſecurity.* That in demanding, which he did with regret, new ſuccours from his people, he had no object but the glory and happineſs of the kingdom; and that he was reſolved to lay the public accounts yearly before the parliament: in ſhort, that the conduct of the two houſes on this occaſion would ſhew, whether they in earneſt deſired to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt."

The commons enter into the king's meaſures.

This ſpeech was applauded. The peers aſſured the king of their zeal for his perſon, and the cauſe of which he was the defender; they inveighed againſt Louis the fourteenth, accuſing him of having violated the faith of treaties, and declaring they would ſpare nothing to concur in the deſign of maintaining the liberty of Europe, and reducing to reaſon the invader of the Spaniſh monarchy. The com-

mons expreſſed the ſame ardor; agreed to keep on foot forty thouſand men for the ſea, and as many for the land, ſervice; and deſired it might be an article in all treaties with his majeſty's allies, *That no peace ſhall be made with* France, *till his majeſty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the* French *king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of* Wales *king of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. They prepared a bill of attainder againſt the pretender; and another bill paſſed the houſe, to oblige all thoſe who had employments, to ſwear to maintain the preſent eſtabliſhment of the church of England, with toleration to the Non-conformiſts. Ten peers proteſted againſt this bill, which ſeemed to impoſe a new obligation as uſeleſs as it was ſevere [*o*].

Death of William.

Thanks to the indignation which the conduct of Louis had inſpired, William was at laſt ſatisfied with the parliament. Abſorbed in his great deſigns, though threatened with an approaching death, he made prepara-

[*o*] The moſt important clauſe in this bill, was that by which they abjured the pretended prince of Wales.

tions

tions for the campaign, and was going to put himſelf at the head of his armies, when a fall from an horſe precipitated his end. He ſaw his laſt moments approach, with that firmneſs of ſoul which had never left him. "I know," ſaid he, to his phyſician [p], "that you, and the other learned phyſicians, have done all that your art can do for my relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I ſubmit." He died in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, after a reign of thirteen years. He has been called the ſtadtholder of the Engliſh, and the king of the Dutch; his authority having been always leſs in England than in Holland [q]. March the 8th.

[p] Dr. Bidloo.

[q] He had a thin weak body, was brown haired, and of a delicate conſtitution: he had a Roman eagle noſe, bright and ſparkling eyes, a large front, and a countenance compoſed to gravity and authority: all his ſenſes were exquiſite. He was always aſthmatical; and the dregs of the ſmall pox falling on his lungs, he had a conſtant deep cough. His behaviour was ſolemn and ſerious, ſeldom chearful, and but with a few; he ſpoke little and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle: for then he was all fire, though without paſſion;

William the third had none of thoſe amiable virtues which endear the man and the prince. The maſter ſprings of his ſoul, ſeldom open to the finer feelings of nature, were ambition and policy. He coldly dethroned his father-in-law; he did not love the people from whom he received the crown; he was indifferent to being beloved, provided he was maſter. But the defects of his character cannot cover the extraordinary merit which diſtinguiſhes him from the crowd of ſovereigns. To maintain himſelf in the throne of England, in ſpite of the diſlike of the nation, in ſpite of the efforts of the moſt powerful monarch in Europe; to govern Holland without deſpotiſm, yet with an abſolute authority founded on confidence and eſteem; to direct, by the moſt profound policy, the counſels of foreign courts; and to command armies with as much ability as courage; to be al-

he was then every where, and looked to every thing.—His deſigns were always great and good; but it was thought he truſted too much to that, and did not deſcend enough to the humors of his people, to make himſelf and his notions more acceptable to them. BURNET.

ways formidable even after loſing a battle, always indefatigable in the cabinet and in the field, under the weight of ſickneſs and of fatigue; to ſtruggle, in ſhort, againſt Louis the fourteenth, and weaken a power ſo long victorious; are actions worthy of immortality. But what mind, that revered juſtice, would purchaſe glory at the price of an uſurpation? William's very ſucceſſes only ſerved to draw on him new chagrins. The ſtadtholder of Holland, had reaſon to repent becoming king of England. He is reproached with his indifference for literature. He would, without doubt, have been more praiſed, if he had, like Louis the fourteenth, known how to prize the fruits of genius, and recompenſe talents uſeful or agreable to ſociety.

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## ANNE.

ANNE Stuart, ſecond daughter to king James, and wife to the prince of Denmark, aged thirty-ſeven years, was worthy of the throne to which

A. D. 1702. Anne worthy of the crown.

which the order of ſucceſſion, eſtabliſhed by parliament, called her. In the courſe of the laſt reign, expoſed to the ill-will of her ſiſter and her brother-in-law, ſhe evinced conſtantly a wiſdom ſuperior to the blows of fortune. Her irreproachable conduct, her phlegmatic diſpoſition, her attachment to the church of England, gave the greateſt hopes of a tranquil reign. The nation acknowledged her with a joy equally great and unanimous. The parliament, which continued to ſit, in virtue of an act paſſed in the reign of William, expreſſed the moſt lively zeal for her ſervice. After aſſuring the commons that ſhe relied intirely on their affection and zeal for the eſtabliſhment of her revenues, ſhe promiſed to make the public good the ſole object of her adminiſtration, "As I know my heart," ſaid ſhe, "to be *intirely Engliſh*, I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there is not any thing you can expect or deſire from me, which I ſhall not be ready to do, for the happineſs and proſperity of England; and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious obſerver of my word." The affable manner in which

ſhe received the congratulations of her ſubjects, increaſed their confidence, and the general joy for her acceſſion.

War declared againſt France.

Though William's death had been a ſubject of rejoicing to the French, and of conſternation to the Hollanders, it produced no change in the affairs of Europe. Louis endeavored in vain to ſhake the conſtancy of the States General. Marlborough ſtrengthened their reſolution; and the queen, by purſuing the meaſures of her predeceſſor, became the ſoul of the formidable league deſtined to humble France. The allies declared war. Anne reproached Louis, with having diſturbed the freedom of commerce and navigation, formed the project of enſlaving Europe, ſeized on a conſiderable part of the dominions of Spain, and inſulted her perſonally, by acknowledging the ſon of James the ſecond for king of England. Theſe reproaches, leſs ſolid than ſpecious, could not fail of making an impreſſion on minds already prejudiced. It is eaſy to find pretexts, when we wiſh for war.

Marlborough.

Marlborough, all-powerful at London, maſter of the finances, which were

were in the hands of Godolphin, father-in-law to his daughter; honored with the confidence of the queen, whoſe favorite his wife was; certain of the favorable diſpoſitions of the parliament and people; joining to his credit an extraordinary capacity, an indefatigable induſtry, and a courage above all dangers, put himſelf ſoon after at the head of the troops in the Low Countries. Louis the fourteenth had no longer thoſe great miniſters whoſe talents had contributed ſo much to the proſperity of his reign. His finances were injured by the laſt wars, and by the magnificence and ſplendor of his court. An honeſt, but not very able, miniſter, Chamillard, a creature of Madame Maintenon, was entruſted with the military department, a burthen ſuperior to his ſtrength. The ſprings of government felt, in ſome degree, the declining age of the monarch; and France had reached the period of her ſucceſſes. The duke of Burgundy, who was worthy to be a model to all other princes, having the duke of Boufflers under him, made an unſucceſsful campaign in Flanders. The French retired before Marlborough,

State of France.

Campaign in Flanders.

rough, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, preparing himſelf thus for more memorable expeditions.

They fought at the ſame time at ſea. The Engliſh attacked Cadiz, and failed in this attempt. But they forced the port of Vigo, where they made themſelves maſters of ten men of war, and eleven galleons. The loſs of the Spaniards in ſpecie and merchandize was conſiderable, though they had foreſeen the arrival of the Engliſh fleet, and put part of their effects on ſhore. Admiral Bembow was defeated by the French in the Weſt-Indies. This brave commander, being of a violent temper, had incurred the hatred of ſeveral of his captains, who betrayed him in the moſt cowardly manner. He had a leg ſhot off, and received ſeveral other wounds; yet refuſed to quit the deck. An officer expreſſing his ſorrow that he had loſt a leg: *I am ſorry too*, ſaid Bembow; *but I wiſh I had loſt them both, rather than have ſeen my country thus diſhonored!* Some of theſe traitors, of whom he had ſuch reaſon to complain, were condemned to death, and executed. Naval expeditions.

The

The queen gains the confidence of parliament.

The queen, by gaining the hearts of her ſubjects, now laid the foundation of all the ſucceſſes of her reign. She ſummoned a parliament, and ſpoke to them in the manner moſt calculated to perſuade. Far from availing herſelf of her prerogative, in favor of ſuch abuſes as were contrary to the general good, ſhe deſired the commons to examine the public accounts, that, if the finances were ill-managed, they might diſcover the errors of adminiſtration, and puniſh the guilty with juſt ſeverity. She exhorted the houſe, to endeavor at every means of rendering commerce, manufactures, and arts, more flouriſhing. "The love of her people," ſhe added, "appeared to her the ſureſt pledge of their obedience and fidelity: ſhe regarded her intereſt as inſeparable from that of the nation; and the public good ſhould be the object of all her efforts." Theſe ſentiments, which ought always to animate ſovereigns, had the merit of ſincerity. The two houſes replied by addreſſes filled with the warmeſt profeſſions of gratitude. That of the commons told the queen, "That the wonderful progreſs

greſs of her majeſty's arms, under the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, had *retrieved* the ancient honor and glory of the Engliſh nation:" an expreſſion injurious to the memory of William, and which occaſioned great debates. Several members objected to the word *retrieved*; but it paſſed, notwithſtanding, by a majority of an hundred.

William's memory inſulted.

They granted ſupplies for the maintenance of forty thouſand men. They thanked the duke of Ormond, and the admiral [*r*], for their conduct at Vigo. Marlborough, created a duke by the queen, received the praiſes he merited. Anne had rewarded his ſervices with a grant of five thouſand pounds a year on the poſt-office, and was deſirous it ſhould be extended to his poſterity. This was a ſubject of debate in the lower houſe. The duke entreated the queen to withdraw a demand, which might be hurtful to her affairs and the public good; and the commons, exalting the ſervices of this general, ſaid, they were only apprehenſive of authorizing, by this example, the alienation of the crown revenues, already extremely diminiſhed by

[*r*] Sir George Rooke.

the

the exceſſive grants of the late reign. They ſettled on the prince of Denmark a penſion of an hundred thouſand pounds a year, if he ſurvived the queen. They alſo exempted him from that clauſe of the act of ſucceſſion, which excludes from public employments all foreigners, even though naturalized. The quality of huſband to the queen gave this prince no authority. Anne reigned alone; and he partook her glory, without acquiring any in his own perſon.

A. D. 1703. The Tories in power. They perſecute the Diſſenters.

The violence of parties ſtill ſubſiſted. The Tories predominated in parliament, and were favored by the queen. Attached to the church of England, they armed themſelves with falſe zeal to gratify their animoſity. The greater part of the Whigs, though in appearance united in communion with the national church, and not ſcrupling to take the uſual oaths, yet frequented the aſſemblies of the Nonconformiſts, without loſing any of the advantages of citizenſhip. The governing party now joined to their religious averſion, the deſire of excluding them from employments. They regarded as a real ſchiſm that occaſional

occaſional conformity, which, under the exterior of ſubmiſſion, concealed an obſtinate reſiſtance to faith and orthodoxy. They preſented a bill in conſequence, the preamble of which blamed perſecution, and of which the aim ſeemed to be a degree of it. All who had taken the oaths to qualify themſelves for offices, and had afterwards frequented Non-conformiſt aſſemblies, were, by this will, rendered incapable of holding thoſe places, ſubjected to a fine, and incapacitated from poſſeſſing any other employment, except after a year of conformity. They pretended, that the national church being neceſſary, both for the maintenance of religion, and the tranquillity of the ſtate, it behoved the government to ſupport it, by truſting the civil power only in the hands of citizens faithful to its principles; that it was abſurd to admit into important places, a ſect whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, yet ſufficiently hardy to violate them; that it was a contradiction to be at the ſame time a Conformiſt and a Non-conformiſt, to embrace ſincerely a communion to which they refuſed

Occaſional conformity.

fuſed to conform; and that, in ſhort, this act added nothing to the lawful rights of the church, and took nothing from the act of toleration paſſed in the late reign. The adverſaries of the bill oppoſed to theſe reaſons, the attachment of the Non-conformiſts to the preſent government, the conſequences of irritating them by ſeverity, the advantages which toleration had produced, even increaſing, by mild treatment, the number of members of the church of England. They obſerved further, that as this church joined in communion with the Reformed of other countries, they ought not to treat Engliſh Proteſtants as ſchiſmatics. The bill, however, paſſed the lower houſe; but it was thrown out by the peers, becauſe the commons refuſed the modifications they propoſed. The two houſes had warm diſputes on the ſubject of examining the public accounts. The ſpirit of party, and even the parliamentary conſtitution, often occaſioned ſuch debates, attended with little danger when they did not ſtop the courſe of affairs. Two factions alſo divided the clergy, the *high* and *low* church.

One

One party accuſed their adverſaries of being only Preſbyterian hypocrites; the other retorted, that they were themſelves the partizans of tyranny and perſecution. Theſe quarrels were ended by the prorogation of the parliament.

Diſturbance in Scotland.

There remained in Scotland a leaven of diſcontent, the effects of which might become ſtill more contagious. The queen, following the ſteps of her predeceſſors, made at firſt ſeveral attempts to unite the two kingdoms. But though the Scots acknowledged her authority, and took the oaths of fidelity, they appeared very averſe to this project. In a long ſeſſion of parliament, anxiety, jealouſy, and party hatred, conſtantly appeared. The ancient genius of the nation unveiled all its turbulent activity. Bills ſucceeded each other in crowds.

Scots oppoſe the union.

Fletcher, a man intrepid in republican ſentiments, advanced, that Scotland would be enſlaved, if it ſubmitted to the ſucceſſor to the crown of England, without ſtipulating conditions which might protect them againſt an Engliſh miniſtry. The conditions that he propoſed, for the queen's ſucceſſors, were,

were, " that all places civil and military, all penſions, ſhould be conferred by parliament; that the preſident ſhould be choſen by the aſſembly; that, in the intervals of their ſitting, a committee of thirty-ſix members ſhould have the adminiſtration of government under the prince, ſhould act as his council, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland." He was of opinion, that the ſucceſſor ſhould be elected by a plurality of voices; and declared, he would rather name a rigid papiſt, with theſe conditions, than the beſt Proteſtant without them. His audacity had many imitators. Exclamations of liberty, and invectives againſt the miniſtry, reſounded through all the houſe. They put the queſtion, whether to deliberate on the ſupplies, or the national liberty. A member ſaid, " that all the fruit of the labors and expences of the nation, would be evidently, to bear the weight of a ſubſidy, and bend under the yoke of ſervitude." Another added, " that, their liberties being deſtroyed, the privileges of parliament would ſoon follow; but that he would hazard his life to defend his natural rights, and would

would rather die free than live a ſlave." The duke of Queenſbury, her majeſty's commiſſioner, having oppoſed their deliberating on Fletcher's act, the earl of Roxborough declared, "that if there were no other means of obtaining a right ſo eſſential to the very being of parliaments, they ought to require it ſword in hand." The commiſſioner narrowly eſcaped being torn in pieces. He calmed them by promiſing, that they ſhould, in this firſt ſeſſion, purſue their overtures in reſpect to liberty. He afterwards prorogued the parliament. That of Ireland ſhewed alſo ſigns of animoſity, and gave great vexation to the duke of Ormond their lord lieutenant; a nobleman reſpectable for his generoſity and merit, but too much inclined to pleaſure, too fond of popular applauſe, and encompaſſed with perſons who acted under him, and whoſe intereſted conduct eſcaped his vigilance. The Iriſh parliament complained of mal-adminiſtration, in reſpect to the public money. They did not, however, ſhew leſs zeal for the government; and they paſſed a ſevere act againſt the papiſts, who were

ſuſpected of new projects in favor of the pretender.

Compaign of the allies.

The military operations were more favorable to France than to her enemies. If, on one ſide, the duke of Marlborough took Bonn, Huy, and Limbourg: Boufflers, on the other, defeated the Dutch general Opdam; marſhal Villars, having joined the elector of Bavaria, defeated the Imperialiſts near Donawert; the duke of Burgundy made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; Tallard re-took Landau, and defeated the prince of Heſſe. The emperor, who had declared his ſon, the archduke Charles, king of Spain, trembled for himſelf, and for the empire. The Engliſh fleets were unſucceſsful: a dreadful tempeſt, by which the houſes, even in London, were ſhaken, and many thrown down, occaſioned the loſs of thirteen ſhips of war, with about fifteen hundred men: the loſs, in London, eſtimated at a million, was only a part of the immenſe damage the kingdom ſuffered. Theſe events might have revived the confidence of Louis; but he loſt, in his turn, two allies, whoſe defection threatened him with great misfortunes.

The

The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the young king of Spain and the duke of Burgundy, without regard, either to the ties of blood, or the faith of treaties, ſacrificing all to the ambition of aggrandizing himſelf, abandoned his two ſons-in-law, gained by the emperor's offers, and the money of England. Similar motives of intereſt determined the king of Portugal, in favor of the archduke, and the grand alliance. The Auſtrian prince haſtened to England, where he embarked for Liſbon, with the Engliſh and Dutch troops. His beſt ſupport was the aſſiſtance of the enemies of Rome and of France. They called him, in the legend of a medal, *Charles, by the grace of the heretics, Catholic king.*

Defection of the duke of Savoy, and king of Portugal.

Never had England been more ardent to defend her own liberty, than now to place on the throne of Spain a prince, whoſe intereſts were only dear to her from her hatred to France and Louis the fourteenth [r]. The

Efforts of England.

[r] Monſ. Milot here diſcovers that partiality, of which it is ſo difficult for a good citizen of any country to diveſt himſelf. No point was ever more clear than the abſolute ne-

parliament voted ninety thouſand men for her land and ſea ſervice. The two houſes, though at variance, concurred in this deſign. Their diſputes were renewed, on account of a plot, probably chimerical, formed in concert with France, in favor of the pretender. Some ſuſpected perſons having been arreſted, and the queen having ordered them to be proſecuted, the peers attempted to get the proceedings into their own hands: an offenſive meaſure, under the appearance of an exceſſive zeal. The commons took this occaſion to give vent to their anger. They, in an addreſs, expreſſed to the queen their aſtoniſhment that the peers ſhould have violated the laws, and invaded the prerogative, by aſſuming the examination of priſoners arreſted by her majeſty's orders; aſſured her of their readineſs to ſupport her prerogative, and repel every at-

Quarrel between the two houſes.

ceſſity of this alliance; nor any contingency ever ſo alarming to the intereſt of England, as well as to the liberties of Europe, as that of the union of the French and Spaniſh crowns on one head. Whether we might not afterwards go too far, is a queſtion which the nature of this work will not allow to be diſcuſſed here.

tempt

tempt againſt her perſon. This addreſs juſtly inflamed the other houſe. They voted it injurious, unparliamentary, and of dangerous conſequence to the liberties of the people, and the conſtitution of the kingdom. The peers inſiſted, that they had an inconteſtable right to examine ſtate criminals, whether priſoners or not. They ſupported their pretenſion by ſeveral precedents. But the ſpirit of a body is generally actuated by jealouſy. The commons ſeemed to turn on the lords all the oppoſition they formerly exerciſed againſt the crown. The lords were equally warm in oppoſition to the commons. The queen endeavored to reconcile them. She was unable to ſuſpend their diſputes, except by proroguing the aſſembly. The factious in Scotland did not give her leſs diſturbance. To calm the fermentation in that kingdom, where the love of independence roſe even to fury, ſhe gave her aſſent to an *act of ſecurity*, which had lately paſſed the Scots parliament. The act provided, "that in caſe the queen ſhould die without children, the parliament ſhould immediately aſſemble, and name a ſucceſſor

ceſſor to the crown, diſtinct from the king of England; unleſs they had before made a national eſtabliſhment, conformable to the liberties of the country, and independent of Engliſh counſels, and the court had given them power to arm the ſubjects, in order to put them in a ſtate of defence." The treaſurer, Godolphin, the queen's prime miniſter, adviſed her to give way on this occaſion to the conjuncture. He was from this time expoſed to the cenſure and the cabals of the Tories.

The emperor was on the borders of ruin, if the allies had not flown to aſſiſt him. Preſſed by the Hungarians, who had thrown off the yoke, and by the elector of Bavaria, who was already in poſſeſſion of all the places from the Danube to Paſſau; fearing for his capital, and even for his perſon, he implored the aſſiſtance of England. The Dutch were deſirous to carry on the war in the Low Countries. Marlborough, in ſpite of their repugnance, led the army into Germany. He forced the elector's lines, took Donawert, ravaged the country, and at length joined prince Eugene.

A. D. 1704. Battle of Hochſted, or of Blenheim.

Eugene. Theſe two generals, emulous of glory, and animated by the ſame zeal for the common cauſe, attacked, near Hochſted, the French and Bavarian army, ſuperior in number, and able, by avoiding a battle, to have reduced the allies by want of forage. Villars, on bad terms with the elector of Bavaria, was at this time employed againſt the revolted Proteſtants in the Cevennes. A great general is not eaſily replaced. The marſhals, Tallard and Marſin, leſs ſkilful than him, though as brave, committed errors to which their defeat was attributed. The firſt, whoſe ſight was very weak, fell in amongſt a ſquadron of the enemy, and was taken priſoner. The defeat was ſoon general, the field ſtrewed with dead, and the Danube covered with the fugitives, who were drowned endeavoring to eſcape. There remained in the village of Blenheim eleven or twelve thouſand of the beſt troops. Unable to range themſelves in order of battle, or to force their way through a victorious army, they yielded themſelves priſoners without fighting. The officers and ſoldiers equally trembled at this appearance

of cowardice; ſome of them buried their colors; but their glory was not the leſs tarniſhed in the eyes of the public; who judge ſometimes too ſeverely of events the cauſes of which they are unable to penetrate.

Conſequences of this victory.

The allies gained a complete victory. About twelve thouſand dead, fourteen thouſand priſoners, an hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred colors and ſtandards, and an immenſe booty, were the trophies of their victory [s]. The duke of Bavaria, obliged to fly, abandoned his dominions to their mercy. They penetrated into Alſace, took Landau, and ſpread univerſal terror. Marlborough ſignalized himſelf in this action as much by his courage, as by his military talents. Tallard, his priſoner, having complimented him, on, "having defeated the beſt troops in Europe:" *I hope*, ſaid the duke, *you will except the troops that defeated them.* Marlborough received

[s] The loſs of the French and Bavarians, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted, by their own account, in intercepted letters, to near forty thouſand men: the allies loſt near thirteen thouſand, of which four thouſand four hundred and eighty-five men were killed.

ceived rewards worthy of his ſervices. The emperor created him a prince of the empire; Holland treated him as ſhe would have done a ſtadtholder; his country loaded him with praiſes. A vaſt houſe, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, is a monument of the public gratitude. The celebrated Addiſon did him ſtill greater honor, by immortalizing him in his poems.

Affairs of Spain. Siege of Gibraltar.

The archduke, and the Engliſh, did not find in Portugal the aſſiſtance they expected. To fight in conjunction with heretics, was, in the eyes of the Portugueſe, a degree of apoſtaſy. Far from penetrating into Spain, and making conqueſts there, they loſt ſome of their own towns. But Spain loſt Gibraltar, that important fortreſs, which they thought impregnable. The garriſon conſiſted only of an hundred men. They would have been able, even without a garriſon, to have reſiſted the ſtrongeſt army, if an exceſſive confidence had not hindered the inhabitants from being on their guard. After ſo ſucceſsful an expedition, the Engliſh, now maſters of the Mediterranean, gave battle to the

French fleet, commanded by the count de Thoulouſe. Each ſide claimed the victory; a certain proof that the action was deciſive on neither. The marine of Louis the fourteenth ceaſed from this time to be formidable. A ruinous war exhauſted all the reſources of France, and ſhe was threatened with new diſaſters. Nothing inflames the military paſſion like ſucceſs. Anne found in her parliament as much ardor to grant her ſubſidies, as eagerneſs to congratulate her triumphs. They voted near five millions for the ſervice of the approaching year. Marlborough forced the lines of the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroi, whoſe army retired under Louvain. Marſhal de Teſſé, ſupported by a fleet of thirteen veſſels, made an unſucceſsful attempt to retake Gibraltar. The earl of Peterborough, one of the braveſt and moſt ſingular men England ever produced, took Barcelona, and reduced all Catalonia to ſubmiſſion. The author of the Age of Louis the fourteenth, relates a circumſtance, which may ſerve to give an idea of this general. Whilſt the viceroy was ſettling the capitulation with

A. D. 1705. Taking of Barcelona. Lord Peterborough.

with him, at one of the gates of Barcelona, the Germans entered the town, and began to pillage, and maſſacre the inhabitants. The viceroy complained he was betrayed. Peterborough aſſured him of his good faith, and begged he would allow him to enter with his troops, promiſing to appeaſe the tumult, and return to finiſh the capitulation. They truſted him on his word; he entered, followed by his Engliſh, ſtopped the diſorder, diſperſed the German ſoldiers, obliged them to quit their prey, and returned to the gate to ſign the articles.

A. D. 1706. The union.

The courſe of hoſtilities did not make the queen loſe ſight of the affairs of Scotland. The conduct of the Scots parliament, their act of ſecurity, the ſeeds of rebellion ſpread over that whole kingdom, inſpired at the ſame time both fear and indignation. The two houſes, in 1704, took proper meaſures to keep the factious within bounds. It was declared, "that the Scots ſhould not enjoy the privileges of Engliſhmen till the union of the two kingdoms was completed, and the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover eſtaſtliſhed in Scot-

land:" they made alſo ſome regulations unfavorable to their commerce; they notwithſtanding authorized the queen to name commiſſioners, to treat with them about the union. The Scots parliament, at length, conſented to this important project. The commiſſioners, on both ſides, were named by the queen; and, after ſome months ſpent in conferences, they agreed on the articles of that famous treaty, which united in one body, two nations ſo long implacable enemies to each other. They contained, in ſubſtance, "That the two kingdoms ſhould become one, under the name of GREAT-BRITAIN; that the ſucceſſion ſhould be in the princeſs Sophia and her heirs, conformably to an act of parliament paſſed in England for that purpoſe; that all the ſubjects of *Great-Britain* ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, and obey the ſame laws; that the kingdom ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, in which there ſhould be ſixteen peers of Scotland, and forty-five commoners; that all the peers of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors, ſhould be reputed peers of *Great-Britain*, and partake of all the prerogatives

rogatives of thoſe of England, except the right of ſitting in parliament; that the government ſhould give to the Scots three hundred ninety-eight thouſand pounds ſterling, as an equivalent for the ſums which will be raiſed in Scotland in conſequence of the union; that, if the revenues of this kingdom ſhould increaſe, her equivalent ſhould be alſo increaſed in the ſame proportion; and that the money to be raiſed, whether in England or Scotland, ſhould be deſtined to the payment of the national debts, the encouragement of commerce, &c. &c."

The Scots oppoſe the union.

A treaty ſo uſeful to the ſyſtem of government, and ſo neceſſary to the good of the ſtate, found in Scotland the moſt violent oppoſition. All parties at firſt united to attack it. The Preſbyterians imagined their religion in danger; the Catholics were enraged to ſee the pretender for ever excluded from the crown; the nobles and gentry feared to loſe, by the annihilation of their parliament, the moſt valuable privilege they enjoyed; the merchants trembled for their commerce, notwithſtanding the advantage of being allowed to traffic with the

Engliſh colonies; the nation in general regarded itſelf as deprived of its rights, given up to ſervitude, and ſold to a foreign power. Several members of the Scots parliament exerted themſelves with vigor againſt the treaty. "What!" exclaimed duke Hamilton, "ſhall we abandon in half an hour what our anceſtors have maintained during ſo many ages, at the expence of their lives and fortunes? is there here no deſcendant of thoſe worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country againſt all who dared to attack it? where are thoſe barons, thoſe peers, accuſtomed to unite, in order to become the bulwark of the nation? ſhall we ſacrifice the ſovereignty and independence of our country, when thoſe we repreſent intruſt us to maintain it, and promiſe us their aſſiſtance?" Several perſons obſerved, that to conſent to this treaty, would be to overturn the conſtitution of the kingdom; that every nation has its fundamental laws, which no authority can annul; that, the exiſtence and the rights of parliament making an eſſential part of the ſtate, the parliament itſelf had not the power of changing

any

any thing which regarded it; that the whole nation ought to concur in the ſacrifice of its privileges; and that ſuch a ſacrifice muſt neceſſarily have the moſt pernicious conſequences.

The treaty of union confirmed in Scotland.

At any other time, the leaſt of theſe reaſons would have put all Scotland in arms. There was even now ſome beginnings of an open revolt. The Preſbyterian enthuſiaſts ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion, publicly burnt the treaty, publiſhed a declaration, and determined to diſſolve the parliament. One of the commiſſioners, though ſurrounded by guards, was inſulted by the populace, and often ran the riſque of his life. Whether, however, the influence of the court, and the means of corruption, got the better of the national ſpirit; whether the advantages of the union at length appeared to overbalance the inconveniences, and that the firſt heat, having ſubſided, gave room for juſter reflexions; the parliament of Scotland ratified all the articles, with very immaterial alterations. Thus was executed, by a woman, a project which William, with all his profound policy, had ineffectually formed. What ap-

pears impoſſible, is often only difficult in appearance. What is really advantageous, will ſooner or later be diſcovered to be ſo: and every thing is in the power of government, if its ſtrength is wiſely applied.

When the treaty was communicated to the Engliſh parliament, it excited the ſame diſputes there as in Scotland; ſo uncommon is uniformity of ſentiments amongſt mankind. A member of the lower houſe compared it to a forced marriage, to which the woman does not conſent. "Violence and corruption, had," he ſaid, "produced this act, which for that reaſon could not be laſting." The queen, obliged by her oath to maintain the religion of the church of England, had alſo obliged herſelf to defend the Preſbyterian church of Scotland: how, in the ſame kingdom, was it poſſible to conciliate two objects ſo incompatible? how unite two nations, which oppoſed each other in ſo eſſential a point?" Lord Haverſham, after having given almoſt the ſame reaſons, added, "That, ſince the government had aboliſhed the privileges of the peers of Scotland, there

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was cauſe to fear thoſe of the peers of England might one day, be as little reſpected; that this example ought to give juſt alarm; and that, the union being odious to the Scots, and dangerous to the Engliſh, it equally imported both nations to reject it." It was eaſy to refute theſe arguments. In important affairs, there are always ſeveral different faces; advantages and inconveniences border; when the former preponderate, they ought to determine the point of policy. "The ſecurity, the tranquillity of the kingdom," ſaid the advocates of the union, "will be evidently the fruits of this treaty: the enemies moſt to be feared, popery and France, will be no longer formidable, if Great Britain forms but one body: as to eccleſiaſtical affairs, a wiſe and moderate government may extinguiſh the flames of diſcord: are not the Swiſs cantons united, though of different religions? and is not the diet of Germany a proof that the diverſity of faith is not an obſtacle to political union?" An act ſupported by plauſible reaſons, and attacked by objections much leſs ſtrong, would naturally have the majority.

jority of voices. The parliament ratified it; and experience has diſſipated the phantoms which imagination oppoſed to the common good.

Battle of Ramillies.

War now deſolated Europe, and Louis met with new misfortunes. His army in Flanders was under the command of Villeroi, a generous nobleman, a favored courtier, but an imprudent general; full of that blind confidence, which diſtracts itſelf by deſpiſing wiſe counſels. Marlborough gained a famous victory at Ramillies. Villeroi defended himſelf ſcarce half an hour, was defeated, and loſt twenty thouſand men, killed, wounded, or priſoners. All Spaniſh Flanders ſubmitted to the yoke of the conqueror. Another diſaſter alarmed France. Turin was beſieged by the duke de la Feuillade, more formed, like Villeroi, to ſhine in a court, than to be at the head of an army. Chamillard, his father-in-law, had exhauſted the treaſury, to enſure the ſucceſs of this expedition. But the general was only brave; and the ſiege, ill-directed, went on ſlowly. The duke of Savoy left the town, and joined prince Eugene; they forced

Siege of Turin.

the

the French lines, diſperſed the army commanded by the duke of Orleans, took the proviſions, baggage, and military cheſt; and remained maſters of Piedmont, and ſoon after of the reſt of Italy. The faults of La Feuillade, and principally a ſecret order from court, which forbad his going to meet the enemy, if they attempted to relieve Turin, were the cauſes of this unfortunate defeat. The miniſtry were become timid after ſo many loſſes; but there are caſes where they riſque more by waiting for danger than boldly ſeeking it. Barcelona was beſieged with as little ſucceſs. Marſhal de Teſſé raiſed the ſiege, leaving a rich booty to the enemy. The count de Ruvigni, a Frenchman, created an Engliſh peer, under the title of Earl of Galway, took ſeveral Spaniſh towns, penetrated even to Madrid, proclaimed king Charles; whilſt Philip the fifth, humbled by his misfortunes and thoſe of his grandfather, had only a feeble hope remaining. It is difficult, as Monſ. Voltaire obſerves, to give a king to a nation againſt their inclination. The Caſtilians had preferred Philip. Their courage ſet them

Expeditions in Spain.

them above dangers: they made the greateſt efforts to ſupport their reputation and their choice: the king ſoon re-entered his capital, where his rival was deteſted, and where the name of Heretics alone made the people regard the Engliſh with horror.

Battle of Almanza.

Louis the fourteenth, every where unſucceſsful, did not degenerate from the native greatneſs of his ſoul. He deſired peace, without ſtooping under the burthen of war. He ſent freſh troops into Spain, notwithſtanding the occaſion he had for them elſewhere. The duke of Berwick, who commanded his army in that kingdom, gained, againſt the Engliſh and Portugueſe, the battle of Almanza; which was followed by the taking of Lerida, and ſeveral other towns, by the duke of Orleans. Villars was employed in Germany, where he became formidable. But France was herſelf in danger.

Siege of Toulon.

The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Var, and beſieged Toulon. An Engliſh fleet attacked the town by ſea. If this attempt had ſucceeded, Provence would have been loſt, and the enemy might have extended their conqueſts much further.

The

The duke of Savoy had failed in reſpect to diligence; relief arrived at the fortunate moment; the ſiege was raiſed; the allies haſtened their retreat; want of proviſions, ſickneſs, and the courage of the French peaſants, occaſioned their loſing a great number of men. Several Engliſh veſſels were loſt in their return; and the admiral, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, drowned. This was a very weak conſolation for the calamities of France. Marlborough, after a journey to Leipſic, where he attempted to gain the king of Sweden, Charles the twelfth, to the intereſts of England, came to reſume the command of the army in the Low Countries. This campaign produced no extraordinary event, becauſe the French were reſolved to hazard nothing.

A. D. 1708. Marlborough loſes his credit at court.

The credit of this illuſtrious general began to decline in England. He was hated by the Tories, as head of the Whig party. The dutcheſs, his wife, who had governed the queen with a degree of deſpotiſm, rendered herſelf at length, by her haughtineſs, inſupportable to her. Another [t] favorite

[t] Mrs. Maſham.

vorite ſucceeded her; and, though her relation and her creature, ſhe employed all her addreſs to ſupplant her. Harley, ſecretary of ſtate, and St. John, ſo celebrated ſince under the name of Bolingbroke, contrived the diſgrace of Marlborough, and the treaſurer Godolphin. They reproached the general with avarice and ambition. He amaſſed immenſe treaſures, and acted one of the firſt parts on the theatre of Europe. War, ſo terrible to the people, was to him the road of fortune. Diſcontent already ſpread every where. Scotland, in particular, preſerved a leaven of ſedition, though the firſt parliament of Great Britain was now ſitting, conformably to treaty. In this delicate conjuncture, Louis the fourteenth ſounded the inclinations of the Scots, and attempted an invaſion in favor of the pretender, who, at Paris and Rome, was called James the third. An Engliſh fleet of fifty ſail, followed the French in their paſſage. The chevalier de Forbin, who eſcorted the prince, met with contrary winds; it was with difficulty he ſaved his veſſels; and the whole effect of this expedition was, to ſpread

Louis attempts an invaſion in Scotland.

a few

a few idle alarms in the kingdom. The ſon of James the ſecond, and his adherents, were declared traitors and rebels; the act of *Habeas Corpus* was ſuſpended, that the government might take up all ſuſpected perſons; they arreſted ſeveral Scots; took every precaution againſt danger; and Louis the fourteenth reaped only the glory of having formed a daring enterprize, after having experienced ſo many miſfortunes.

This monarch, as firm in adverſity as he had been haughty during the courſe of his ſucceſſes, made incredible efforts to triumph over fortune. The reſources of France ſeemed to increaſe with her loſſes. An army of an hundred thouſand men, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the duke of Vendome, was intended to reſtore the honor of the French arms in the Low Countries. Unhappily the great prince was on bad terms with the great general. The former was as pious as the latter was libertine; and this difference of characters and principles diſturbed the harmony of their counſels. They ſurprized Ghent and Bruges; but

The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome defeated in Flanders.

but were defeated at Oudenarde. Eugene and Marlborough, inferior in forces, had the advantage of thinking and acting always in concert. Every difficulty gave way before them; attempts the moſt raſh in appearance ceaſed to be ſo when they formed the plan. Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee them beſiege Liſle, in the face of a formidable army, which might ſeize their convoys, force their retrenchments, and reduce them to the moſt fatal extremities. Liſle was notwithſtanding taken, in ſpite of all the efforts of Boufflers, who defended it four months with a ſkill and courage worthy of him. Ghent, Bruges, and many other places, opened their gates to the allies. A party of Dutch troops advanced even to Verſailles. The duke of Savoy was maſter of the paſſes towards Dauphiné; the emperor Joſeph, brother to the archduke Charles, held Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris trembled; the whole kingdom was filled with conſternation.

Siege of Liſle.

Philip the fifth, whoſe uncertain deſtiny fluctuated at the mercy of doubtful events, was not more ſucceſsful than

Loſſes of the king of Spain.

Louis.

Louis. The emperor had already deprived him of Naples and Lombardy. The Engliſh took from him Sardinia for the emperor, and the iſland of Minorca for themſelves. Clement the eleventh, a partizan of the Bourbons, and therefore expoſed to hoſtilities from the emperor, having taken arms, was ſoon obliged to lay them down, and acknowledge Philip's competitor. A few ſucceſſes of the duke of Orleans in Spain, were nothing compared to their diſaſters; and the Caſtilian fidelity was put to the ſevereſt proof.

Death of the prince of Denmark.

Amongſt ſo many ſubjects of joy, Anne had the unhappineſs to loſe the prince of Denmark, her huſband; a man of the moſt amiable diſpoſition; without ambition or the ſpirit of cabal, and of a character to give no umbrage to the nation: he contented himſelf with being the firſt ſubject, without meddling in affairs, though by his office of high admiral he might have aſſumed a great ſhare in them. The Engliſh eſteemed him moderately, and regretted him in the ſame degree. After his death, the parliament intreated the queen to think of a ſecond marriage. But, having no

longer any hope of poſterity, ſhe replied, "that her meaſures to aſcertain the Proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould prove how much ſhe was occupied with the public good; but that the addreſs of the two houſes was of ſuch a nature, that they could expect no reply." The act of naturalization, in favor of foreign Proteſtants, at length paſſed into a law. The Tories in vain oppoſed it, on pretence that theſe ſtrangers, not having Engliſh hearts, would become dangerous when they roſe to employments; and that their riches or their poverty would be equally hurtful to the ſtate. The French refugees, however, have ſerved England but too importantly, as well by their induſtry as courage. The revocation of the edict of Nantes had rendered them the moſt implacable enemies of Louis the fourteenth. They ſeemed to have been born Engliſh. This circumſtance affected the Whigs leſs, than the deſire of counterbalancing the credit of their adverſaries, by admitting ſtrangers into the body of the nation: for party intereſt was become the ſoul of the national affairs.

A ſin-

A ſingular event fixed the attention of parliament, and of the court. The Ruſſian ambaſſador was arreſted, at the ſuit of a merchant [*t*]. He was conducted to priſon, where he was ill-treated, and could not obtain his liberty till lord Feverſham put in bail for him. This inſult to the character of an ambaſſador excited the complaints of all the foreign powers. The czar Peter inſiſted the authors of it ſhould be puniſhed with death. The queen, whoſe indignation equalled his, wiſhed to give him ſatisfaction; but the laws of the kingdom did not permit ſuch a puniſhment. It is the laws alone which can inflict death. They found none which puniſhed this offence in ſo ſevere a manner. The zeal of the parliament could go no farther, than to paſs a bill to maintain the privileges of foreign miniſters. The court of queen's bench proceeded againſt the merchant, and thirteen other perſons, who had been concerned in the inſult. They were found guilty, and the privileges of ambaſſadors anew acknowledged, without their

The Ruſſian ambaſſador put in priſon.

[*t*] One Morton, a laceman.

being able to paſs the bounds of the law. Anne conſented to make ſolemn excuſes by her ambaſſador. The czar aſked no more; admiring, perhaps, notwithſtanding his deſpotiſm, a mild and indulgent legiſlation, attentive to guard the loweſt citizen from the violence of arbitrary power.

A. D. 1709. Louis aſks peace.

Above ſeven millions, granted by parliament, placed the queen in a ſituation to undertake any thing. A ſevere winter, followed by an almoſt general famine, did not relax the ardor of the allies for carrying on the war. The fury of deſtroying their fellow-creatures by arms ſubſiſted on both ſides, in the midſt of the ſcourges of nature. Louis, whoſe reſources were inferior to thoſe of his enemies, and whoſe armies ſeemed deſtined to periſh by want, ſent to aſk that peace which they had before received from him. He offered to demoliſh Straſbourg and Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, to renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, to cede to the States General the barrier which they demanded in the Low Countries, and to negotiate with the emperor on the terms of the treaty of Ryſwick. The more

more fortune humbled this haughty and powerful monarch, the more the allies affected to inſult his misfortunes. Prince Eugene, Marlborough, and the grand penſionary Heinſius, united in the ſame views by motives more or leſs noble, aimed to reduce him to the laſt extremities. They carried their inſolence (for the term cannot be ſoftened) even to inſiſting he ſhould join in dethroning his grandſon. *If I muſt make war*, ſaid the king, *I had rather make it on my enemies than on my children.*

Battle of Malplaquet.

The zeal and courage of the French revived under the preſſure of humiliation and misfortune. Louis ſet on foot a great army. The artizans and laborers, who wanted bread, became ſoldiers. Villars took the command; and Boufflers, though the elder general, inſiſted on ſerving under him: more honored by this ſtroke of patriotiſm, than he would have been even by the command. The allies took Tournay. They attacked, at Malplaquet, the intrenchments of the French army. After a bloody and obſtinate battle, Villars being wounded, the allies gained the victory; if it

could be ſo called, to loſe twenty thouſand men, when the enemy loſt only eight thouſand. Boufflers retired in good order; leaving to the enemy the field of battle, covered with their dead. The taking of Mons indemnified them for this loſs. This important place, as well as Liſle and Tournay, remained in the hands of the Dutch, who now breathed only the ambitious ſpirit of conquerors.

Trial of Sacheverel.

Whilſt France groaned under her misfortunes, and England triumphed in the humiliation of Louis the fourteenth, a very extraordinary affair revived the animoſity of the two contending parties which divided the nation. Dr. Sacheverel, an enthuſiaſtic divine, ignorant, and therefore obſtinate in his opinion, full of that ſpirit of party to which they give often the name of zeal, had publiſhed a warm declamation in favor of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and againſt toleration and the Non-conformiſts, inſiſting on the dangers of the church, and the neceſſity of defending it [*w*]. This

[*w*] In two Sermons, preached and publiſhed by him.

was

was to attack the maxims of the Whigs, the principal authors of the Revolution, and to blow the flames of diſcord. The ſermons of Sacheverel were, by the lower houſe, voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels. The author was impeached. During three weeks, this trial ſuſpended all other buſineſs, engaged the public attention, and became ſo intereſting, that the queen herſelf went there as a ſpectator. The clergy and the people declared for the accuſed perſon, with all that ardor which ſelf-intereſt and religion inſpire. It was neceſſary to take precautions againſt an inſurrection. When the accuſation and defence were diſcuſſed, there aroſe amongſt the peers altercations as lively as the ſubject was important. The earl of Wharton obſerved, "that the doctrines of Sacheverel on paſſive obedience led to very dangerous concluſions; that the Revolution was founded on the principles of reſiſtance; that, by ſuppoſing it illegal, they ſuppoſed a great part of the nation, and even of the parliament, guilty of rebellion and injuſtice; that the eſtabliſhed government ought not

Diſputes on paſſive obedience.

in that caſe to be regarded as lawful, ſince the queen derived her right from the Revolution." The biſhop of Saliſbury, Burnet, a celebrated partizan of William, attempted to juſtify reſiſtance by ancient, as well as modern, hiſtory. He alledged the example of the Maccabees, that of the Hollanders, the conduct of Elizabeth in reſpect to the latter, and the aſſiſtance given to the Hugonots; adding, that though this became a favorite maxim after the Reſtoration, yet its warmeſt aſſerters were the firſt who pleaded for reſiſtance when they thought themſelves oppreſſed. The biſhop of Bath and Wells [x], more moderate in his principles, agreed that reſiſtance might be lawful in certain extraordinary caſes; but was of opinion, that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to reſiſt: that the Revolution was not to be boaſted of, nor made a precedent; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it ſhould be called a vacancy, or abdication: that the term *original contract*,

[x] Hooper.

if

if not employed with great reſerve, might inſpire dangerous ſentiments; and that there ſeemed to be a neceſſity for preaching up non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, when reſiſtance was ſo indiſcreetly juſtified. Theſe prudent reflexions irritated the duke of Argyle: he affirmed, that the clergy in all ages [y] had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power in order to govern him the more eaſily; and that therefore they ought not to be ſuffered to meddle with politics. Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Tories, whilſt they allowed the doctor's ſermons to be abſurd and full of extravagancies, inſiſted, however, that they contained nothing worthy of puniſhment. But he was condemned, by a majority of ſeventeen. He was forbid preaching for the term of three years; and his two ſermons, with the famous decree of the univerſity of

[y] The duke ſurely had forgot the glorious ſhare the biſhops had in the conſtitutional reſiſtance to James the ſecond, and their ſufferings on that account. On this very occaſion, ſeveral of the biſhops voted and ſpoke againſt Sacheverel.

Oxford, in favor of abſolute power and the indefeaſible right of princes, were ſentenced to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This ſentence appeared ſo mild to the friends of Sacheverel, that they triumphed on it as on a victory over the Whigs. Anne appeared to favor a doctrine, which ſtrengthened the rights of the throne, and tended to maintain the public tranquillity. She prorogued the parliament, after having expreſſed her concern, that ſo much time had been taken up on a private affair, and at the injurious ſuppoſition that the church was in danger under her adminiſtration.

A. D. 1710. Haughtineſs of the allies to Louis the fourteenth.

To reſume the thread of thoſe great events to which were attached the deſtiny of princes and of kingdoms: The laſt campaign having weakened ſtill more the reſources of France, Louis again attempted to obtain peace. The pride of the allies was intoxicated with the humiliations of this monarch. His ambaſſadors, confined, rather than received, in the little town of Gertruydenberg [z], ſuffered there

[z] The French plenipotentiaries, marſhal D'Uxelles, and the abbé Polignac, were not a thou-

a thouſand affronts. He in vain made offers, which would have appeared ſhameful, if neceſſity had leſs power over ſovereigns than over the reſt of mankind; he even engaged to furniſh money to dethrone his grandſon the king of Spain, if he would not agree to accept a little kingdom which was to be given to him [a]. They inſiſted abſolutely, that Louis ſhould dethrone him by force of arms [b]. Eugene, Marlborough, Heinſius, did not reflect that, by abuſing the ſmiles of fortune, they ran the hazard of loſing them. The event ſeemed at firſt to juſtify their preſumption.

ſuffered to enter Holland; but were met by the deputies, Buys and Vanderduſſen, at Gertruydenberg.

[a] Louis firſt mentioned Arragon; which being refuſed, he named Naples and Sicily: when reminded that Naples was already in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria, he reſtricted himſelf to Sicily and Sardinia.

[b] The propoſition made by the allies had an air of inhumanity: and the reſt of mankind might be ſhocked to ſee the grandfather obliged to make war on his grandſon. But Louis the fourteenth had treated mankind with too much inhumanity in his proſperous days, to have any reaſon to complain even of this propoſition. Lord BOLINGBROKE.

Douay was taken, after a long ſiege, Villars having been unable to relieve it. Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant ſhared the ſame fate. France had ſcarce any frontier remaining on that ſide.

Vendome in Spain.

In Spain, they ſaw the moment when Philip was on the point of being obliged to cede to his adverſe fortune. The Engliſh general, Stanhope, gained the firſt victory over his troops: Staremberg afterwards defeated them at Saragoſſa, and Charles entered triumphant into Madrid. But the zeal of the Caſtilians ſtruggled againſt misfortune. Louis was no longer in a condition to aſſiſt them. They only aſked one man; and by obtaining him, they thought they gained another army. The duke of Vendome, that general adored by the ſoldiers, was no ſooner arrived in Spain, than a crowd of volunteers aſſembled under his ſtandards; they preſſed eagerly to furniſh him with money and proviſions, notwithſtanding the public diſtreſs; he haſtened to beſiege Stanhope in Brihuega, where he made him priſoner, with all his garriſon: he gained againſt Staremberg the deciſive battle of Villa Vicioſa; he re-

Battle of Villa Vicioſa.

eſtabliſhed the affairs of Philip in three or four months, and put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom of which before he ſcarce retained the title. If Vendome had not exiſted, or if he had been ſuffered to continue in his retreat, the Spaniſh monarchy would, perhaps, have been for ever loſt to the houſe of Bourbon. Happy the princes who know how to chuſe and to employ men truly great!

Revolution in the Engliſh miniſtry.

There are men born to raiſe the glory of nations, but too much the ſlaves of pernicious paſſions, and too greedy of power and of riches, who draw on themſelves mortifications, after the moſt ſignal and important ſervices. Such was the duke of Marlborough; ambitious, inſatiable, and too powerful, he every day declined in favor with the queen, becauſe he acted towards her rather as a maſter than a ſubject. The caprice and haughtineſs of his dutcheſs, produced a quarrel which it was impoſſible ever to make up. She wrote inſolently to the queen, *Do me juſtice, and make me no reply* [c]. She was ſenſible of her

[c] The dutcheſs in her own account tells us, that ſhe firſt made uſe of this extraordinary ex-

fault,

fault, and wiſhed to repair it; but neither repentance, prayers, nor even tears, could ſoften the alienated heart which ſhe had ſo long held inſlaved. *You deſired no anſwer*, ſaid the queen, *and ſhall have none*. The new favorite, Mrs. Maſham, knew how to take advantage of this favorable conjuncture. She eaſily perſuaded her miſtreſs to throw off the yoke of the Whigs. The earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſon-in-law to Marlborough, Godolphin, Wharton, and the other leaders of the party, were deprived of their employments, and replaced by their rivals. No Whig remained in any place of truſt. The parliament, where this party was predominant, having been diſſolved, the court took certain meaſures to have a parliament of Tories.

New parliament.

That very Sacheverel, whoſe trial had cauſed ſo much noiſe, a weak in-

preſſion, in a converſation at church; and that ſhe bid the queen not anſwer, leſt ſhe ſhould be overheard. However this might be, it is certain, that this change in the miniſtry, ſo auſpicious to France, was chiefly owing to the queen's diſguſt at the imperious manner in which the dutcheſs of Marlborough conſtantly treated her.

ſtrument

ſtrument of himſelf, but calculated to inflame the vulgar, became one of the principal agents of the court. He was named to a benefice in Wales. He went thither in triumph, with a pompous train of followers; he was ſumptuouſly entertained by the univerſity of Oxford; the towns through which he paſſed vied with each other in loading him with honors; the roads were lined with multitudes, teſtifying their joy by the loudeſt tranſports of exultation; the clergy inflamed the people with a ſpecies of fanaticiſm; the air reſounded with cries of, *The church and Sacheverel!* It was the time of elections. No more was neceſſary to make the choice fall on the Tories; and the parliament was almoſt intirely compoſed of them. Though the populace are almoſt every where the ſame, yet England furniſhes more examples than any other country, of thoſe ſudden national fermentations, which, brought about by little cauſes, produce ſuch great effects.

The Tories, now ſuperior to their enemies, did not forget that they had ſuffered oppreſſion. Animoſity made them even violate decency. Marl-

A. D. 1711. Marlborough insulted.

borough, so often extolled, so often thanked, by both houses; so respectable, notwithstanding some errors, for his noble exploits, met with the basest outrages; and reproaches, satires, and invectives, were the reward of his services. The populace insulted a hero so lately their idol. Pride, avarice, cruelty, violence, extortion, rapine, ill-conduct, were imputed to him: they even disputed with him the glory of courage, in the midst of his trophies. Never had Rome or Athens seen popular judgements more absurd or iniquitous. The parliament extended its enquiries, with the same partiality, to the unsuccessful war with Spain. They censured the conduct of Galway and Stanhope; and loaded with encomiums the earl of Peterborough, their rival. In order to blacken the late ministry, the lower house resolved, that whoever advised the inviting, and bringing over, the poor Palatines, at the public expence, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. A bill passed, by which it was enacted, "that no person should be deemed qualified to represent a county in parliament, unless he enjoyed an estate of six hundred

dred pounds a year; nor a borough, unleſs he had half that income." This was done in the intention of excluding perſons in trade from the lower houſe; where the poſſeſſion of lands ſeemed to give a better right to be admitted.

Harley, the favored miniſter [d] who had contributed greatly to the ruin of the late adminiſtration, loſt the Earl of Oxford.

[d] The duke of Shrewſbury had been made lord chamberlain, on the diſmiſſion of the duke of Kent. Lord Sunderland was removed from being ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſucceeded by lord Dartmouth. The treaſurer, lord Godolphin, was diveſted of his office, and the treaſury put into commiſſion, with Mr. Harley at its head, as chancellor of the exchequer and under-treaſurer. The earl of Rocheſter was made preſident of the council, in the room of lord Somers; the duke of Buckingham lord ſteward, inſtead of the duke of Devonſhire; and Mr. St. John ſecretary, in the place of Mr. Boyle. The lord chancellor reſigned the ſeals, which were ſoon after given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The duke of Ormond was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, on the reſignation of lord Wharton. Lord Orford left the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed ſecretary of war, inſtead of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was given to the earl of Portmore; and the duke of Hamilton was appointed lord lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaſter.

confidence

confidence of the Tories, becauſe too wiſe to enter into their violent meaſures. But a tragical event reſtored at once his favor and his reputation. A French partizan, in the ſervice of England, named Guiſcard, not thinking himſelf ſufficiently rewarded, reſolved to treat with the court of Verſailles. His letters were intercepted; he was arreſted, and carried to the council-board to be examined. Tranſported with fury, he deſired to ſpeak with St. John, the ſecretary, alone, with an intention, it is moſt probable, of aſſaſſinating him. His demand was refuſed. As St. John was at a great diſtance from him, he threw himſelf on Harley; crying, *Have at thee, then*; ſtabbed him twice with a pen-knife, and received himſelf ſeveral wounds, of which he died ſoon after. The injurious ſuſpicions entertained of this miniſter vaniſhed, when an enemy of the ſtate had made an attempt on his perſon. The two houſes, in an addreſs to the queen, expreſſed their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

The

The queen publiſhed a proclamation, ordering the laws againſt papiſts to be put ſtrictly in execution. Harley was made treaſurer, and earl of Oxford. He created a new trading company, to the South-Sea, which was to pay the debts of the navy, by a fund aſſigned to that uſe. The nation vainly flattered itſelf with a trade to Peru: the miniſtry perhaps expected to obtain the court of Spain's permiſſion, by the firſt treaty of peace: a chimerical hope, on which the eſtabliſhment of the company was however founded.

South Sea company.

The court diſpoſed to peace.

Oxford wiſhed to put an end to the war. This deſign was the more reaſonable, as, the emperor Joſeph being dead, king Charles, his brother, was to ſucceed him; and policy forbad to place on the throne of Spain, a prince the ſole heir of the Auſtrian power. In the intoxication of victory, however, the paſſion for conqueſts inflamed the people to that degree, that it required great addreſs to inſpire them with pacific ſentiments. It was neceſſary to excite their hatred and contempt for the former miniſtry, the authors of a war as unprofitable as it was

was glorious. The commons ſeconded the ſecret views of the court. They preſented to the queen, a remonſtrance, in which they told her, that they had not only raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies, but alſo diſcharged the heavy debts of which the nation had ſo long and juſtly complained. They ſaid, "that, in tracing the cauſes of this debt, they had diſcovered fraud, embezzlement, and miſapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had been entruſted with the management of the treaſury, were guilty of notorious breach of truſt, and injuſtice to the nation, in allowing thirty millions to remain unaccounted for: that their pernicious practices had ruined England; and that, had not her majeſty exerted the utmoſt prudence, the ill would have been irretrievable." They concluded with praying her majeſty to give orders for compelling the ſeveral perſons accuſed, ſpeedily to paſs their accounts. This remonſtrance, being publiſhed, had the effect they wiſhed on the minds of the people. The late miniſtry became ſo odious, that the preſent flattered themſelves with making

making the nation approve a conduct directly oppoſite to theirs.

They had, however, meaſures to keep with Holland and the empire; Marlborough, though he had loſt his credit, ſtill kept the command of the troops, and appeared again with luſtre on the theatre of his victories. The lines, which Villars had drawn from Montreuil to Valenciennes, ſeemed to ſecure France from all danger of inſult. The Engliſh general, by a march which did equal honor to his diligence and ſkill, ſurprized Villars, and forced his lines. He afterwards beſieged Bouchain, an attempt not leſs hazardous, which had the ſame ſucceſs. This campaign laid France open to the enemy. The duke of Argyle commanded the army in Spain. The miniſters ſuffered him to want money, which prevented his doing any thing conſiderable. Charles left Barcelona, and was elected emperor. The Engliſh, ſo attentive to maintain the balance, would have acted contrary to their intereſt, if they had perſiſted in the war after this event [e].

Marlborough ſtill commands the army.

[e] The election of Charles to the imperial crown undoubtedly made a great change in the

To

Preliminaries of peace.

To this palpable reaſon was joined, in the heart of Anne, a motive of humanity, the moſt worthy of all others of actuating princes, but which is too often ſtifled by a ſanguinary and ambitious policy. The deſolation, the miſery, the effuſion of blood, the various ills which follow in the train of war, excited the ſorrow and compaſſion of this princeſs [*f*]. If France

ſyſtem of Europe, and rendered his poſſeſſion of Spain almoſt as ineligible as that of Philip: the only expedient which promiſed to anſwer the purpoſe for which the war was undertaken, was to place the duke of Savoy on the throne of Spain; but of this expedient, the execution was, for many obvious reaſons, impoſſible.

[*f*] With all due eſteem for that humanity which was undoubtedly a part of queen Anne's character, it is impoſſible not to attribute the peace to other cauſes. The haughtineſs of the dutcheſs of Marlborough certainly occaſioned the change of the miniſtry; and the deſire of that miniſtry to ſecure their own power, probably, occaſioned ſo precipitate a peace, at a time when a much better might have been obtained.

Lord Walpole, though a friend to the duke of Marlborough, and engaged in the ſame party, ſpeaks thus of the dutcheſs: "The humourſome and ungrateful carriage of one proud woman, towards her friend, her miſtreſs, and her ſovereign, gave a few ambitious and unſkilful perſons an opportunity of getting, in the midſt of this career of glory and ſucceſs againſt the com-

was

was reduced to a pitiable ſtate, England purchaſed very dear thoſe triumphs from which ſhe reaped no advantage. She ſacrificed her treaſures and her people, for a cauſe in which ſhe was not perſonally concerned. The queen, in ſeeking peace, conſulted the happineſs of her kingdom as much as the intereſts of humanity. It was the nobleſt work which could engage the attention of a ſovereign. A French prieſt, named Gautier, had been already employed to aſſure the French court of the favorable diſpoſitions of that of London. The poet Prior—(for literary talents are often with the Engliſh an additional recommendation to places of truſt)—Prior, I ſay, came to confer with the French mi-

mon enemy, the reins of government into their hands."

The ſame noble lord, who was perſonally concerned in the negotiations at Gertruydenberg, tells us, that when abbé Polignac, one of the French plenipotentiaries, was told by a perſon ſurprized at their breaking off the conferences ſo abruptly, that the duke of Marlborough would be able to carry his arms into the heart of France, he replied coolly, *Ce que nous perdrons en Flandres, nous gagnerons en Angleterre:* what we ſhall loſe in Flanders, we ſhall gain in England.

niſters

niſters at Fontainebleau, and returned to England, accompanied by Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the chamber of commerce, to whom powers had been given to ſettle the preliminaries of peace. The firſt articles were ſigned, after ſeveral long conferences. The queen communicated them to the emperor's miniſter [g]. He cauſed them to be tranſlated and publiſhed, with a deſign to inflame the minds of the people, and was immediately ordered to come no more to court.

The emperor and the States, who bore a very inadequate part of the burthen of the war, and who reaped from it many advantages, made repreſentations to the queen againſt theſe pacific meaſures. She treated the remonſtrances of the emperor with indifference; and declared to the Hollanders, by the earl of Strafford, her ambaſſador, that, if they did not immediately concur in ſigning the preliminaries, all delay on their part would be regarded as a refuſal. The States now conſented, that the conferences ſhould be opened at Utrecht the be-

Oppoſition of the allies.

[g] Count Gallas.

ginning

ginning of the following year. But the Whigs put the whole kingdom in agitation. Satirical pamphlets inſolently attacked the meaſures of the miniſtry [*b*]. They even apprehended not having a majority in the upper houſe. Anne created twelve new peers, to turn the balance in her favor.

A. D. 1712. Prince Eugene in England.

Whilſt Marlborough continued in the command of the troops, the warmeſt oppoſition was to be expected. They ſeized the moment to ſtrike the firſt blow. The commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, alledged he had received annually a conſiderable ſum from the contractors who furniſhed the army with bread [*i*]; the queen declared in council, "that, in order to have this affair impartially examined, ſhe judged it neceſſary to take from the duke all his employ-

[*b*] Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were to-day publiſhed by one faction, and to-morrow anſwered by the other. They contained all the inſinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterneſs of reproach, and all the rancor of recrimination. SMOLLET.

[*i*] It was alledged, in his juſtification, that this was a cuſtomary perquiſite, always enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army.

ments." During theſe tranſactions, prince Eugene arrived, with inſtructions from the emperor, which could not be very agreable to the court. The deſign of his viſit was probably to animate the Whigs, by his preſence, and by his intrigues. This great man treated Marlborough, as if he had been ſtill in favor. Oxford, having invited him one day to dinner, congratulated himſelf on having at his table the firſt general in Europe. *If I am*, ſaid the prince, *'tis your lordſhip whom I am to thank for it:* the nobleſt encomium on Marlborough, whoſe diſgrace was principally owing to this miniſter. Though Eugene received in England all the honors due to his rank and merit, he did not ſucceed in his projects. Notwithſtanding all the eſteem and friendſhip he expreſſed for the duke, the parliament kept no meaſures with the latter. They voted him guilty of illegal and unwarrantable practices. The thirſt of riches had certainly tarniſhed the glory of this illuſtrious general; but that glory, and his ſervices, ought to have thrown a ſhade over ſome accuſations from which he juſtified himſelf

himſelf by orders from court. The examination laſted a long time, becauſe the queen liſtened leſs to paſſion than to prudence.

Acts of parliament.

Some bills, which paſſed in the two houſes, demand particular attention. The duke of Hamilton, a Scots nobleman, demanded a ſeat in the houſe of peers, as duke of Brandon. It was to be determined, whether the peers of Scotland, created peers of Great Britain ſince the union, had a right to a ſeat in parliament. Though there was already a precedent [k] in the duke's favor, it paſſed in the negative by five voices. All the lords who diſſented entered their proteſts; and the peers of Scotland complained with great bitterneſs. The bill for occaſional conformity, ſo long oppoſed by the Whigs, and deſired by the church of England, paſſed into a law, but in more moderate terms than at its origin. The commons repealed the naturalization bill, which, for a ſhilling, conferred the privileges of Engliſhmen on all Proteſtants, and which had

[k] In the perſon of the duke of Queenſbury, who ſat in the houſe as duke of Dover.

drawn over a great number of poor, as much a burden to the kingdom, as induſtrious citizens are uſeful. They paſſed a bill in favor of the partizans of epiſcopacy, who were excluded the benefit of toleration in Scotland. This was a cruel mortification to the Preſbyterians. They filled up the meaſure of their vexation, by ordering the courts of judicature to be ſhut up during the Chriſtmas holidays, the obſervation of which was in their eyes a remnant of popery. "Since the houſe is reſolved to make no alteration in the body of this bill," ſaid one of the members [*l*], "I acquieſce; and only deſire it may be intituled, *A bill for eſtabliſhing jacobitiſm and immorality.*" The commons at length, exaſperated againſt the Dutch, attacked the treaty concluded ſome years before with the States, by which England guarantied to them a barrier in the Low Countries. They repreſented to the queen, in a ſtudied remonſtrance, that Holland had not furniſhed her contingent of troops, and that England had been over-charged nineteen millions ſterling during this war.

[*l*] Sir David Dalrymple.

The

The States having publiſhed a memorial in their juſtification; the commons voted it a falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libel, highly reflecting upon the reſolutions of the houſe. Such ſteps proclaimed an approaching peace.

The conferences at Utrecht were, however, opened with little appearance of ſucceſs. The emperor and the States General remained obſtinately attached to their pretenſions: they endeavored to force Louis the fourteenth to ſubſcribe to the moſt humiliating conditions. This monarch had lately loſt his only ſon the dauphin, his grandſon the duke of Burgundy [*m*], and the eldeſt ſon of this prince; and the duke of Anjou, the preſent king of France [*n*], was threatened with an approaching death. The king of Spain might become heir to the crown of France. It was neceſſary, he ſhould renounce his rights to this crown, before Anne concluded the treaty, the articles of which

Conferences of Utrecht.

[*m*] His wife, Maria Adelaida of Savoy, died ſix days before him.

[*n*] Youngeſt ſon to the duke of Burgundy.

were ſettled between the two courts. Experience had taught them to diſtruſt ſuch uncertain renunciations; but it was hoped, that, if the contingency happened, they would be ſupported by all the powers intereſted to maintain the balance of Europe. Philip granted what neceſſity demanded of him [o]. Anne agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms; ſhe ſent orders to the duke of Ormond, her general in Flanders, to ceaſe hoſtilities; communicated to parliament her plan for a treaty of peace; and, in ſpite of all the efforts of Marlborough and Godolphin, the two houſes aſſured her of their approbation, in the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude and affection.

[o] It is notorious, that if the preſent French king had died without iſſue male, during the life of the late king of Spain (as was more than once apprehended), Philip was ready and determined, notwithſtanding his moſt ſolemn renunciations at the peace of Utrecht, to attempt to get poſſeſſion of the crown of France; as may be ſeen by the inſtructions drawn and ſigned by himſelf, which he gave to the abbot de Montgou, when he ſent him to Paris to negotiate with the French nobility, for their ſupport of his pretenſions to ſucceed, if that event ſhould happen. Lord WALPOLE.

Prince

Prince Eugene was preſſing the ſiege of Queſnoi, when the duke of Ormond abandoned the allies. Almoſt all the foreign troops in the pay of England refuſed to follow him. Louis delivered Dunkirk to the Engliſh, as ſecurity for his performing his engagements, and expected with anxiety the event of ſo critical a campaign. Prince Eugene took Queſnoi, and beſieged Landreci; detachments of the enemy ravaged Champagne; the whole kingdom was in the utmoſt conſternation. But a moment ſuffices to deſtroy the work of fortune. Prince Eugene's lines were, they ſay, too much extended. Villars forced the intrenchments of lord Albemarle, then encamped at Denain, without prince Eugene's being able to give him the leaſt aſſiſtance: he made himſelf maſter of Marchiennes, where were the principal magazines of the allies: he relieved Landreci, retook Douai, Queſnoi, and Bouchaine; and acquired in one campaign the ſuperiority over this conqueror, rendered haughty by ſuch a ſeries of ſucceſſes.

The Engliſh abandon the allies.

Such was, notwithſtanding, the fury of the allies againſt the houſe of

A. D. 1713. Peace of Utrecht.

France, that they reſolved to purſue the war with obſtinacy. But the greater part were ſenſible, that without England all their efforts would be ineffectual. Anne had beſides neglected nothing for their advantage; ambition alone, therefore, could make them refuſe peace. It was, at length, concluded at Utrecht. Louis the fourteenth acknowledged the queen's title, abandoned the pretender, ceded Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, and obliged himſelf to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk: a great part of his former conqueſts in the Low Countries were added to the Dutch barrier; the duke of Savoy was to have Sicily [p]; Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and Spaniſh Flanders, were ceded to the emperor; Gibraltar, and the iſland of Minorca, were left to the Engliſh, with conſiderable advantages in the American commerce. Care was alſo taken of the intereſts of the king of Portugal, and the other confederates. The emperor Charles refuſed to accede to the treaty; and was not long before he repented. Villars marched towards the Rhine,

[p] With the title of king.

took

took Landau and Fribourg, and defeated a German army. Charles desired peace, and made it, in 1714, by the treaty of Radstadt, less advantageous to him than that of Utrecht would have been. He would have had Landau, and perhaps even Strasbourg, if he had been wise enough to make peace in time. Philip the fifth kept Spain, and the immense possessions of that crown in the West-Indies.

Anne blamed in England.

Tranquillity restored to so many nations, and advantages so invaluable secured to England, sufficed to render the name of Anne immortal. But the spirit of faction, which sees all objects under false colors, delights in darkening what wisdom ought to admire. The Whigs declaimed against the peace. According to them, the treaty of Utrecht was the disgrace and the ruin of the nation. Their invectives, their libels, spared nobody; and the queen, after the most important service she could have rendered to humanity, saw herself exposed to the reproaches of her own subjects [q].

[q] Monsr. Milot should reflect, that if humanity alone influenced princes to make peace, the same motive would prevent their ever mak-

A dangerous conteſt in parliament increaſed her diſquietude. A tax had been laid on malt, from which Scotland was not exempted, though the Scots members had inſiſted in the moſt lively terms on the poverty of their country. This burden appeared to them ſo inſupportable, that they propoſed in the upper houſe to diſſolve the union. The debates on this ſubject were carried on with great heat. The Whigs declared againſt the treaty of union, which they had before ſo warmly maintained. The tories ſupported the treaty as ſtrongly, as they had formerly attacked it. It is of little conſequence to men carried away by party, to act inconſiſtently, provided they get the better of their opponents. The majority was on the ſide of the Tories; the union ſubſiſted, and the Scots were obliged to ſubmit to the tax.

A. D. 1714. The more occaſion the queen, whoſe health declined every day, had for tranquillity, and the more reaſon ſhe had to expect it, the more un-

ing war. Perhaps the intereſts of humanity required, that ſtronger fetters ſhould have been put on the ambition of France.

eaſineſs

eaſineſs ſhe experienced, from the rage of the different factions. A report was circulated, that ſhe intended to place the pretender on the throne, that the Hanover ſucceſſion was in danger, and that all the views of the miniſtry tended to deſtroy the national ſyſtem. The Whigs took fire on theſe malignant conjectures. Their clamors revived in a new parliament. The pretender, ſent from France by Louis, was in Lorrain. They inſiſted on hunting him from this aſylum, and ſetting a price on his head. The houſe of peers debated on preſenting an addreſs to this purpoſe. Some members exclaimed againſt ſuch an act of inhumanity, and inſiſted on the rights of nature and religion, and on the mildneſs of the Engliſh laws. Their repreſentations obtained no more than a mitigation. A reward was to be promiſed for apprehending and bringing the pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. To this addreſs of the peers, the queen replied, with a moderation inſeparable from true wiſdom, " My lords, it would be a real ſtrengthening to the

ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to my government, that an end were put to thoſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies which have been ſo induſtriouſly promoted. I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation. Whenever I judge it neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders to have it iſſued." The princeſs Sophia, the queen's preſumptive heireſs, being dead [r], and the Jacobites having appeared elated and buſy, the Whigs again took the alarm: Anne at length publiſhed againſt her brother the proclamation they deſired. She then prorogued the parliament, not without expreſſing how much ſhe was affected by the diviſions which had diſturbed the harmony of it.

The earl of Oxford diſgraced.

Her vexations were imbittered by the cabals of the court. St. John,

[r] This princeſs, who died in the eighty-fourth year of her age, was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine, and king of Bohemia; and Elizabeth, daughter of king James the firſt of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated: and was in all reſpects one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived. SMOLLET.

the

the ſecretary, now lord Bolingbroke, had inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the favorite, and artfully undermined the credit of Oxford. Theſe two miniſters quarreled in the moſt outrageous manner. Oxford wrote in ſevere terms to the queen againſt a rival whom he painted as a man equally turbulent and dangerous. Bolingbroke defended himſelf, accuſing the treaſurer of a clandeſtine correſpondence with Marlborough, who had left the kingdom, and with the electoral prince of Hanover, who was deſirous to enter it without the queen's conſent [*s*]. Anne was herſelf witneſs to a diſpute, in which Oxford forgot the reſpect he owed her, and ſuffered ſome menaces againſt his enemies to eſcape him. She inſtantly deprived him of all his employments. The anxiety and agitation of her mind conducted her to the grave. She died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign [*t*]. Few ſove-

Death of the queen.

[*s*] In all probability his greateſt crime was, his having given umbrage to the favorite, lady Maſham.

[*t*] Anne Stuart, queen of Great Britain, was, in her perſon, of the middle ſize, well pro-

reigns

reigns have merited greater praiſe than this princeſs. Without having ſhining talents, a cultivated underſtanding, or that vigor of mind neceſſary to prevent the too great aſcendancy of favorites, ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the qualities of the heart; by a ſincere piety, a conſtant exerciſe of true virtue, a tender affection for her people, an unalterable mildneſs, as well in government as in the familiar commerce of life. She was called *The good queen Anne*; a title more glorious than the victories which have rendered her reign ſo celebrated. Marlborough made France tremble; but ſhe gave peace to Europe.

portioned. Her hair was of a dark brown color, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aſpect more comely than majeſtic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her preſence engaging.—Whatever her weakneſs in reſpects to favorites might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in queſtion. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princeſs, during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon. SMOLLET.

GEORGE

## GEORGE the First.

THE Jacobites had vainly flattered themſelves that the rights of blood would prevail, in favor of the ſon of James the ſecond, over the motives which had influenced the nation to exclude him and his poſterity from the throne of England. Whether queen Anne had really formed, or not, the project of changing the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by parliament, the preſent conjuncture had not permitted her to attempt any thing in favor of an unhappy brother. Her death diſconcerted the Tories; Bolingbroke, one of their principal leaders, remained without power; and his genius, rather brilliant than ſolid, was not made to govern the nation. All ſubmitted to a ſtranger. George of Brunſwick, elector of Hanover, ſon to the princeſs Sophia, grand-daughter of James the firſt, was proclaimed without the leaſt oppoſition. He was a prince of fifty-four years of age, of an extenſive capacity, an eſtabliſhed reputation, joining military merit to

The elector of Hanover acknowledged.

to his political abilities, and having for his maxim, *Never to abandon his friends, to render juſtice to all the world, and to fear no one.* The parliament, which was aſſembled in his abſence, granted him the ſame revenue as queen Anne had enjoyed. Inſtead of five thouſand pounds promiſed under the late reign, they promiſed an hundred thouſand to whoever ſhould ſeize the pretender, in caſe he attempted to land in the kingdom. Time had ſtrengthened the national hatred to the houſe of Stuart. Their religion effaced all their perſonal rights.

George declares for the Whigs.

George haſtened to arrive in England. A prince hitherto eſteemed for his prudence, appeared capable of extinguiſhing the heat of factions, or making them contribute to the public good. He would perhaps have ſucceeded, if he had held the balance equal between the parties, and endeavored, by ſkilful management, to unite them. Either becauſe he judged this impoſſible in a free, and therefore, turbulent nation, or becauſe his prejudices againſt the Tories carried him beyond juſt bounds, he gave all his confidence to the Whigs, as more devoted

devoted to the new government. Bolingbroke was removed; the command of the troops was taken from the duke of Ormond, and reſtored to Marlborough: the revolution (for ſuch it was to the Engliſh) extended to the other public employments; and the Whigs triumphed with the more inſolence, as they were emerged from the moſt profound diſgrace. Theſe beginnings could not but imbitter the animoſity of parties, and preſerve a leaven of diſcontent. The great art of conciliating hearts, does not conſiſt in attaching one at the expence of another. George ſhewed more wiſdom in declaring, in council, his firm purpoſe to maintain the churches of England and Scotland, as by law eſtabliſhed. This he was of opinion might be done, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: and he moreover aſſured them, he would earneſtly endeavor to render property ſecure; the good effects of which were no where ſo clearly ſeen as in this happy nation.

One

Demolition of Dunkirk and Mardyke.

One of the principal articles of the treaty of Utrecht, preſcribed to Louis the fourteenth the demolition of Dunkirk, the port of which had coſt him immenſe ſums, and was become an object of jealouſy and apprehenſion to England. In executing the treaty, he cauſed the canal of Mardyke to be inlarged, and began to conſtruct a port comparable to that of which he had been deprived. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from the court of London complained warmly of this attempt. It is pretended the monarch replied, *I have always been maſter in my own kingdom, and ſometimes in thoſe of others; do not oblige me to remember this.* Voltaire aſſures us, that this reply, which he thinks very unbecoming, never came from the mouth of Louis. Without examining the fact, we ſee here ſomething of the former haughtineſs of the conqueror of Holland, and the arbiter of Europe. The times were no longer the ſame. The Engliſh had ſatisfaction; the works at Mardyke were ſuſpended; they were demoliſhed under the regency.

The

The ſpirit of rebellion already gained ground in the kingdom. Every part reſounded with the complaints of the humbled party. Several cities were full of tumult and diſorder. To animate the people, the cauſe of religion was joined to that of faction. "Down with the Whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" was the cry of the party. The pretender, whom they called, The Chevalier de St. George, endeavored to take advantage of the conjuncture, by publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he complained, "that his people, inſtead of doing him and themſelves juſtice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable law of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettlement could never abrogate."

A. D. 1715. A parliament ſummoned.

In ſo critical a moment, it highly imported the king, to have a parliament intirely in his intereſts. He ſummoned a new one, but in a manner calculated to exaſperate the diſcontented party. His proclamation complained of the evil deſigns of men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion: and expreſſed his hope that his loving ſubjects

jects would ſend up to parliament the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders; and that, in the elections, they would have a particular regard to ſuch as had expreſſed a firm attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion when it was in danger. Nothing could more plainly point out the Whigs, or expreſs on which ſide the government deſired the ſuffrages to fall. The influence of the court had its uſual effect, and directed the elections by corrupting the electors. When the parliament was aſſembled, the king renewed, in a remarkable ſpeech, the aſſurances of his zeal for the public good. "The happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity, of my people," ſaid he, "ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures, I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but that I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive me of that bleſſing which I moſt value, the affection of my people." The commons fixed the civil liſt at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, beſides extraordinary expences. Some members had

The king's ſpeech.

Civil liſt.

had the courage to ſpeak in the ſpirit of patriotiſm. They propoſed to examine the king's proclamation. Sir William Windham ſaid, *It was not only unprecedented, and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous conſequence to the very being of parliaments.* Some members cried out, *The Tower, the Tower.* He was ordered to withdraw; an hundred and nineteen members accompanied him [*u*]. The houſe then reſolved, That he ſhould be reprimanded by the ſpeaker, as having made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of ſpeech granted by his majeſty. They would have applauded his conduct under the Stuarts.

The governing party were deſirous to cruſh their adverſaries by a ſignal and public revenge. A committee of ſecrecy was appointed to examine into the late negotiations; and, on their report, the late miniſtry were ſeverely attacked. The celebrated Walpole, chairman of this committee, a man of ability, and poſſeſſed of the king's confidence, impeached Boling-

[*u*] Thoſe members who had voted againſt his being ordered to withdraw.

broke,

broke, who was retired into France, of high treaſon, as author of the ſeparate treaty with Louis the fourteenth. Lord Coningſby then roſe up, and ſaid, "The worthy chairman of this committee has impeached the *hand*, but I impeach the *head*; he has impeached the *clerk*, and I the *juſtice*; he has impeached the *ſcholar*, and I the *maſter*. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors." Mr. Auditor Harley, brother to Oxford, endeavored to defend him. He repreſented, "that he had done nothing, but by the immediate orders of the late queen;" inſiſting, "that the peace was a good one, and as ſuch approved by two parliaments." Theſe arguments did not diſarm the commons. They carried up the impeachment to the lords. The earl, after having proteſted his innocence, and obſerved, "that if miniſters of ſtate, who executed the orders of the ſovereign, were reſponſible for their conduct, every member of that houſe might be one day expoſed to the ſame examination;" added, "My lords, I am now to take leave

Trial of Oxford.

leave of your lordſhips, and of this honorable houſe, perhaps for ever. I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure in a cauſe favored by my late dear royal miſtreſs. When I conſider that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honor, and virtue, of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done!" He was conducted to the Tower [*w*], though dangerouſly ill of the gravel. The people followed him in crowds, inveighing againſt the perſecutors of this venerable miniſter. The duke of Ormond, and lord Strafford, were alſo impeached. Ormond, perſuaded that neither his birth nor ſervices could procure him an equitable trial, choſe to quit his country, rather than riſque the event. He and Bolingbroke, not having ſurrendered at the time preſcribed, the bill of attainder paſſed againſt them, and their names were eraſed from the liſt of peers.

[*w*] He was, on account of his illneſs, firſt confined to his own houſe, and afterwards, though Dr. Mead declared it would endanger his life, ſent to the Tower.

Apprehenſions of an invaſion.

Theſe violences imbittered the minds of men ſo much the more, as they were already highly exaſperated. A little time before, London and Weſtminſter were ſcenes of tumult and confuſion. The people had trodden under foot all decency, even to burning an effigy of king William, and inſulting all thoſe who celebrated the birth-day of their preſent monarch. The Jacobites were in motion all over the kingdom. The king declared in parliament, he had information of an intended invaſion. They gave him power to ſuſpend the act of *Habeas Corpus*, and to cauſe all ſuſpected perſons to be arreſted; promiſed an hundred thouſand pounds to whoever would ſeize the pretender alive or dead; raiſed troops, armed the fleet, and made all kinds of preparations. This was not an alarm without foundation. The Tories, driven to deſpair, began to enter into correſpondences with the enemy abroad. The pretender flattered himſelf with the protection of Louis the fourteenth. This monarch, long the idol of his ſubjects, and the terror of Europe, died about this time, in an extreme old

old age. Smollet does not bluſh to paint him as "an *oſtentatious tyrant*, who had ſacrificed the repoſe of Chriſtendom to his inſatiate vanity and ambition." 'Tis thus that national averſions corrupt hiſtorical truth. A writer unjuſt enough to blacken the memory of Louis the fourteenth, without giving him any praiſe, does not merit any other refutation than the events of his reign. Actuated by ambition and pride, a great prince may commit faults, and yet preſerve a juſt right to the public admiration [x]. The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom under the minority of Louis the fifteenth, entered into a ſtrict alliance with England. His policy did not concur with the pretender's wiſhes.

A. D. 1716. Revolt in Scotland and England.

The national diſcontent at length produced a revolt. The earl of Mar raiſed troops in Scotland, and proclaimed James the third. The north of England imitated this ſeditious ex-

[x] With whatever eye true philoſophy may regard Louis the fourteenth, and his fellow-conquerors, he undoubtedly merits, in the language of the world, and even in the general language of hiſtory, the title of a great prince.

ample. But the rebels were vigorouſly puſhed. The battle of Dumblain weakened them greatly, without reducing them: a re-inforcement of ſix thouſand Dutch aſcertained the ſuperiority of the royal army; and the pretender, who had landed in Scotland, was conſtrained to repaſs the ſea. Several of his adherents had been arreſted, and were condemned to death. The wives of theſe illuſtrious criminals in vain implored the clemency, and the protection, of parliament. George was inflexible. The upper houſe having addreſſed the king to ſuſpend the execution, he replied coldly, "that on this, and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown, and the ſafety of his people." The earl of Nithſdale was condemned to death, as well as ſeveral other lords. His wife (Smollet ſays his mother) [y], ſaved him by a generous artifice. She obtained permiſſion to bid him a laſt adieu, ran to embrace him in priſon, changed

[y] Rapin alſo ſays, his mother: the general tradition ſays, his wife.

clothes

clothes with him, contrived his escape, and remained prisoner in his stead. Being interrogated, she refused to tell the place of his retreat. She was set at liberty, either because it would have been too odious a step to have punished her, or because they could not avoid doing justice to her virtue.

Severity serves often only to render rebellion more daring. Though the rebels were subdued, there was reason to apprehend so many bloody executions would raise up avengers. After having commanded these executions, the court sought means to prevent their effects. The present parliament was devoted to the crown; a new one might oppose it, and turn on the ministers the rigor with which they had acted towards the people. The act for triennial parliaments, that bulwark of national liberty, gave just alarms to a ministry, who seemed degenerating into despotism. To attack this important act, was a hazardous attempt; but the conjuncture seemed favorable. A peer [z] represented in the upper house, that triennial elections served to keep up

Septennial parliaments.

[z] The duke of Devonshire.

party diviſions; to raiſe and foment feuds in private families, to produce ruinous expences, and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wiſdom of that auguſt aſſembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of the nation, as the ſpirit of rebellion ſtill remained unconquered. He therefore propoſed a bill for lengthening the duration of parliaments. The motion was warmly oppoſed by ſome of the lords [*a*]. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom," they ſaid, "required frequent parliaments; they were eſtabliſhed by the practice of ſeveral ages; they intereſted the liberty and glory of the citizens: what confidence could foreign powers have in a nation, who ſo warmly ſacrificed its moſt precious rights? would not the expences of elections, and the cabals which they occaſioned, far from diminiſhing by this new and dangerous ſyſtem, increaſe with the intereſt individuals would have in pro-

[*a*] The earls of Nottingham, Abington, and Paulet.

curing

curing ſeats in a parliament of ſo long continuance? would not the miniſtry have both ſtronger motives, and more extenſive means, to corrupt the members? and might not the parliament, after having prolonged its duration, aſpire to render itſelf perpetual, which would annihilate the privileges of the people, and the conſtitution of the ſtate?" Theſe plauſible arguments were too weak, againſt the influence of the court. The diſputes grew warm; but the two houſes paſſed the bill, which fixed the duration of parliament to ſeven years; and George triumphed in ſome ſort over a people, by whom he ought rather to have made himſelf beloved.

Charles the twelfth attempts to dethrone the king of England.

The complaiſance of parliament ſerved, as much as poſſible, to hold the place of the affection of his ſubjects. As his affairs called him into Germany, they repealed a clauſe in the act of limitation, which reſtricted him from going out of the kingdom. He had purchaſed the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been conquered from Charles the twelfth of Sweden. This young hero, as brave and more virtuous than Alexander,

der, but in whom the paſſion for war was a crime to humanity, being releaſed from his captivity at Bender, breathed vengeance, and, burned to repair his misfortunes. Irritated againſt the king of England, he determined his ruin. He projected an invaſion, in favor of the pretender. He, who had made Staniſlaus king of Poland, might hope to re-eſtabliſh the houſe of Stuart on the throne which belonged to it by birth. His ambaſſadors at London, and The Hague, labored ſecretly in this important deſign. Their meaſures were well taken; the greateſt difficulties ſeemed to be removed; an infinite multitude of male-contents deſired a revolution, and diſpoſed themſelves to concur in it with ardor. Though the king had ſtrengthened himſelf by a confederacy with France, and the States General, the danger would have been imminent, if the ſecret had not tranſpired.

A. D. 1717. The king engages England in continental affairs.

The king, being informed of theſe intrigues, haſtened to quit Hanover, and to return to London. He cauſed the count de Gyllenbourg, ambaſſador from Sweden, to be arreſted: baron Gortz, the Swediſh miniſter in Holland,

Holland, was alſo arreſted; they found, in their papers, certain proofs of the conſpiracy, which were laid before the parliament: the king having aſked an extraordinary ſupply, for the defence of the kingdom againſt the danger which threatened it from Sweden, ſome of the members exclaimed againſt the demand, as contrary to parliamentary uſage; aſſerting, that new alliances would be uſeleſs to the kingdom, and ought on no account to be purchaſed with money. After violent debates, and the ſevereſt complaints againſt the miniſtry, the ſupply was granted. Thus England found herſelf engaged in the affairs of the continent, becauſe the reigning family poſſeſſed dominions in Germany: an inconvenience which has more than once been attended with diſagreable conſequences; eſpecially by giving the king an army which the nation could not behold without apprehenſion.

The earl of Oxford had been about two years in the Tower. He took advantage of a quarrel amongſt the miniſters, to demand a trial. The two houſes had violent debates on the

Oxford diſcharged.

manner in which it was proper to proceed. The houſe of lords inſiſted on their right to regulate the proceedings, as well as to pronounce ſentence; and carried it againſt all the oppoſition of the commons. The accuſers having been called upon to appear, and not having preſented themſelves, Oxford was acquitted. But the lower houſe, fired with reſentment, cauſed him, as well as Prior, and ſome others, to be excepted out of the act of indemnity, which the king at laſt granted. The ſeverity which had preceded this act, prevented the impreſſion it would otherwiſe have made. A wiſe and well-regulated clemency knows the time and manner of pardoning, and of engaging thoſe who are miſled to repentance. George was reproached with not having in this imitated his predeceſſors.

Death of Charles the twelfth.

An unforeſeen event delivered him from all danger on the ſide of Sweden. Charles the twelfth, who was on the point of entering into an alliance with the czar, was killed at the ſiege of Frederickſtad in Norway; and the dominions, which had been taken from him, remained in the hands of

of the preſent poſſeſſors. George had not yet received the inveſtiture of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden. This was with him a reaſon for keeping meaſures with the emperor, Charles the ſixth, and ſupporting him againſt Spain. Whilſt Charles made war on the Turks, as an ally of the Venetians, a war celebrated for the victories gained by prince Eugene, Philip invaded and conquered Sardinia, on pretences rather ſpecious than ſolid. His miniſter, cardinal Alberoni, ever forming immenſe projects, drew on the Spaniſh monarchy a ſtorm, which prudence would have endeavored to avoid. The Emperor, France, England, and Holland, concluded a treaty, which had for its object the tranquillity of Europe. The quadruple alliance regulated the partition of ſome diſputed ſtates. Philip was diſſatisfied, and all parties prepared for war. The parliament fixed the number of troops at ſixteen thouſand men, and paſſed a bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion. This bill, by reſtoring martial law, took from the civil magiſtrate the cognizance of crimes committed by the ſoldiers, and officers of

Quadruple alliance.

the army. An act ſo contrary to the genius of the Engliſh, proves a great alteration in the national principles; but it appears agreable to the genius of military diſcipline.

A. D. 1718. Sir George Byng defeats the Spaniards.

The object of the quadruple alliance was, to oblige the king of Spain to make peace with the emperor, to whom the duke of Savoy was to cede Sicily in exchange for Sardinia. This treaty, too advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, the power of which it greatly increaſed in Italy, was rejected by the court of Spain. The king, to ſupport his mediation by arms, ordered a fleet of twenty ſhips of the line to ſail to the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng. The Spaniards made ſome conqueſts in Sicily. Already maſters of Palermo, and of Meſſina, they might poſſibly ſoon become ſo of the whole iſland. The Engliſh admiral attacked their fleet, which was more numerous than his own, and deſtroyed it almoſt without reſiſtance. War was not yet declared. The Spaniards exclaimed againſt this action, as a violation of the right of nations. Some members of parliament,

ment, and Walpole in particular who was no longer in favor, cenſured it with warmth. They complained of the injury which ſo precipitate and irregular a rupture muſt do to trade. Their complaints had little effect. The parliament, ſubmiſſive to the court, approved all it dictated; and war was declared againſt Spain.

Projects of Alberoni.

A little time after, the duke of Orleans diſcovered a plot laid by Alberoni againſt his perſon. This daring miniſter propoſed to himſelf no leſs an object, than overturning the government of France. The diſcovery of this intrigue led to a declaration of war. France, after laviſhing her blood and treaſures for Philip the fifth, found herſelf ſuddenly his enemy: ſo eaſily does policy break the ties of nature! Alberoni, always more ardent in proportion to the obſtacles he encountered, projected an invaſion in favor of the pretender. He ſent for him from Italy, concerted meaſures with him, and preſſed the execution of this deſign. Ten ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, put to ſea under the command of the duke of Ormond, who was

A. D. 1719. The Spaniards defeated every where.

impatient to revenge his diſgrace. But George had fortune on his ſide. A ſtorm diſperſed this fleet; three hundred Spaniards, who had landed in Scotland, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners; all the hopes of the pretender vaniſhed. Count Merci, the emperor's general, ſupported by Sir George Byng, reduced a part of Sicily. The king of Spain, unable to reſiſt ſo many enemies, acceded at length to the quadruple alliance, and diſmiſſed his miniſter, whoſe ambitious projects had engaged him in this war. If all wars were of as ſhort a continuance, they would afflict mankind, without reducing them to deſpair.

A. D. 1720. South-Sea ſcheme.

Another ſcourge, the offspring of avarice, threw England into confuſion. The national debts amounted to more than fourteen millions. They ſought ſome means to diſcharge them. The Bank, and South-Sea company, made them offers. Thoſe of the company, appearing moſt advantageous, were accepted; and Blunt, the author of the ſyſtem which was purſued, gave himſelf up intirely to the execution of this ſcheme. That of Law [*b*],

[*b*] The Miſſiſſippi ſcheme.

which

which had a more ſolid foundation, had juſt before ruined France. But the paſſion for riches, like other paſſions, is ſometimes too blind to profit of thoſe examples which are before its eyes. The deſire and hope of a conſiderable fortune, drew into the ſnare a number of unfortunate perſons, dupes to artifice and ſelf-intereſt. The directors of the company, and their mercenary partizans, having infatuated the public with alluring chimeras, their ſtock roſe rapidly to a thouſand *per cent.* The rage of ſtock-jobbing ſeized all minds, and abſorbed all other ideas. Whigs, Tories, Jacobites, nobles, clergy, phyſicians, lawyers, merchants, women as well as men, all appeared actuated by the ſame ſpirit. Every one gave his money for paper, every one hoped to become rich by deſpoiling himſelf of his property. This illuſion was not of long duration. They ſaw the commerce to the South-Sea, the ruinous foundation of ſo enormous an enterprize, could not anſwer the inſatiable wiſhes of avarice. The ſtocks lowered with the rapidity as they had riſen. Several projects, the offspring of an avaricious

avaricious and fraudulent induſtry, were totally diſcredited. The money diſappeared, the payments ceaſed, the public credit diſſolved in air; families without numbers ſaw themſelves plunged in indigence, and the cries of deſpair ſucceeded to the intoxication of a light and ſenſeleſs joy.

Reſtoration of public credit.

The king, who was then in Germany, haſtened back to remedy this diſorder. He intreated the parliament to attend to this object. The two houſes ſhewed the ſame zeal; though there were amongſt their members ſome venal and corrupted minds, intereſted in theſe infamous meaſures. They examined the criminals, confiſcated the eſtates of the directors, leaving them a ſubſiſtance, indemnified the creditors as much as the conjuncture permitted, and at length reſtored public credit, the ruin of which would have occaſioned that of the kingdom. Walpole contributed greatly, by his genius and application, to the ſucceſs of this intricate affair. He recovered, from this time, his favor with the king, and was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. It is one of the great advantages of England,

England, that it is the intereſt of the court to favor merit.

Though the diſputes on account of religion were almoſt extinct with fanaticiſm, yet ſome eccleſiaſtical affairs occaſioned debates in parliament. In 1718 a bill had paſſed, to repeal the ſevere acts againſt the Non-conformiſts. The biſhop of Bangor [c] had maintained, that ſuch acts were perſecuting laws; and that, if they admitted the principles of intolerance in eccleſiaſtical affairs, all the perſecutions of the pagans, and even the popiſh inquiſition, might be juſtified. The progreſs of impiety and licentiouſneſs awakened the zeal of thoſe who inclined to rigor. An exceſſive luxury, the moſt horrible debauchery, an affected contempt for religion and morality, were the fruits of a ſyſtem which had ſubſtituted gold and ſilver to the objects moſt worthy the dignity of man. Atheiſm raiſed its head. God being deſpiſed or ill underſtood, there remained neither bridle, rule, nor principle, to check the vices of mankind. In conſequence of the re-

A. D. 1721. Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

[c] Hoadly.

monſtrance

Bill againſt blaſphemy.

monſtrance of a peer [*d*] on theſe abuſes, they prepared a bill againſt blaſphemy and profaneneſs, in which were ſeveral articles inconſiſtent with the liberty recently granted to the Non-conformiſts. This was a motive to attack the bill. The diſpute grew warm, and gave birth to very ſingular altercations. A biſhop having ſaid, "That he verily believed the preſent calamity, occaſioned by the South-Sea project, was a judgment of God on the blaſphemy and profaneneſs the nation was guilty of:" Lord Onſlow, jeſtingly replied, "That noble peer muſt then have been a great ſinner; for he heard he had loſt conſiderably by the South-Sea." The duke of Wharton, celebrated for his libertiniſm, ſaid, "He was glad of this opportunity to juſtify himſelf, by declaring, that he was far from being a patron of blaſphemy, or an enemy to religion; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, becauſe he conceived it to be repugnant to

[*d*] The earl of Nottingham. The bill was brought in by lord Willoughby de Broke, dean of Windſor.

the

the Holy Scripture." Then, taking an old Family Bible out of his pocket, read ſeveral paſſages, from whence he concluded the bill ought to be thrown out. Lord Peterborough's opinion was ſtill more whimſical: he ſaid, "Though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not deſire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion: and if the houſe were for ſuch a one, he would go to Rome, and endeavor to be choſen a cardinal; for he had rather ſit in the conclave, than with their lordſhips on thoſe terms." The oppoſition was ſo violent, that the bill was thrown out. George had it more at heart to procure ſupplies; and he obtained one to enable him to fulfil his engagements with Sweden; engagements in which the nation was little intereſted. Being maſter of the lower houſe, he made them enter into all his deſigns. A. D. 1722.

The love of liberty is ſometimes carried to exceſs. To prevent the ſpreading of the plague, which depopulated Provence, the parliament had ordered lazarettoes to be built, and lines to be drawn round the places whither

whither the contagion might penetrate. A peer [e] repreſented, "That to confine citizens in an hoſpital by order of government, and draw lines round a place infected, were practices unknown to the Engliſh conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the lenity of our free government, and the more odious, as they were copied from the arbitrary government of France." Theſe reaſons, though refuted with great force of argument, cauſed the repeal of the obnoxious clauſes. A phantom of liberty prevailed above the public ſafety. The arbitrary government under which they ſuppoſed France to groan, was then in itſelf more advantageous [f]. Can true liberty exclude the only means of ſecuring a country againſt this dreadful contagion?

Bill in favor of the Quakers.

The Quakers alſo occaſioned ſome parliamentary diſputes. They had obtained, under William's reign, that their ſolemn affirmation ſhould have the force of an oath in a court of

[e] Lord Cowper.

[f] Poſſibly it might be ſo in this inſtance: an arbitrary form of government has ſome few advantages; but what are they in the balance with thoſe of a free one?

juſtice;

juſtice; an oath being repugnant to their principles, and their reputation for probity ſo well eſtabliſhed, that it was ſuppoſed they might be believed on their word. Extremely ſcrupulous in reſpect to forms, they deſired further, that theſe words might be retrenched from their affirmation, *In the preſence of Almighty God.* The commons paſſed a bill in conſequence of their requeſt. The archbiſhop of York, and ſome other peers, proteſted againſt it; the clergy of London preſented a petition, complaining of ſo ſingular a condeſcenſion in favor of a ſect who were ſcarce Chriſtians. But the miniſtry treated this petition as a ſeditious libel, and the majority rejected it. It is to be lamented, that the example of the Quakers ſhould throw a cenſure on Chriſtians; and that we muſt exact oaths, which ſerve only to multiply perjuries.

All affairs being ſettled to the wiſhes of the court, the king diſſolved the parliament, and ſummoned a new one. The elections were ſo well managed, that the greater part of the late members were returned. His majeſty informed the houſes of a conſpiracy lately

lately diſcovered. Though there was no certain proof of this, nor even much probability, the alarm ſpread as in an evident danger. The act of *Habeas Corpus* was ſuſpended for an intire year; the nation was in ſome ſort left at the mercy of the miniſtry; ſome lords, and ſeveral other perſons, were impriſoned [*g*]. An abſurd manifeſto of the pretender inflamed all minds. The parliament paſſed a ſevere bill againſt the papiſts: the rumors natural on ſuch occaſions, and the preparations for war, ſpread terror over all the kingdom. If we ſuppoſe the conſpiracy real, we muſt, as Smollet obſerves, ſuppoſe thoſe concerned in it to have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy; for they were charged with having made application to the regent of France [*b*], who was well known to

[*g*] Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, was firſt ſent to the Tower; and afterwards the earl of Orrery, lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Layer. Mr. Kelly, an Iriſh clergyman, Mr. Cotton of Huntingdonſhire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe an Iriſh prieſt, and ſeveral others, were alſo taken into cuſtody.

This year died the duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Sunderland his ſon-in-law.

[*b*] The king is ſaid to have received the firſt

be

be intimately connected with the king of Great Britain. The commons, however, declared the reality of a plot, to change the government, and place a papiſt on the throne: they proceeded to try the perſons accuſed. One of the principal was the famous Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter; a prelate of obſcure birth [*i*], but of extraordinary merit, a friend to letters, diſtinguiſhed as much by his learning as by his virtues, odious to the court, becauſe he did not follow its principles, and to the Whigs, becauſe he had the ſentiments of a Tory. He declined the juriſdiction of the lower houſe, and declared he would make his defence only before his peers. The proofs againſt him conſiſted only of two letters in cypher, intercepted by the clerks of the poſt-office, and, according to all appearance, forged by his enemies. This was ſufficient to condemn him to the loſs of his office and benefice, and to perpetual

A. D. 1723. Trial of Atterbury.

intelligence of this conſpiracy from the regent.

[*i*] He was the ſon of the Rev. Dr. Atterbury, rector of Milton, near Newport Pagnell, in Buckinghamſhire.

baniſh-

baniſhment [k]. The bill occaſioned a warm conteſt in the houſe of lords. Lord Bathurſt diſplayed all the force of his eloquence. "If ſuch extraordinary proceedings were, he ſaid, countenanced [l], he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal." He obſerved, "that cardinal Mazarine boaſted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumſtances, atteſted by witneſſes, deprive him of life at his pleaſure." Then, turning to the bench of biſhops, who

[k] By a bill of pains and penalties.

[l] Without entering into the queſtion of the biſhop's guilt or innocence, every impartial reader muſt allow the evidence on the trial to have been very inſufficient, and the proceedings irregular and dangerous to liberty. It is the misfortune of England, that each party, though jealous of power in the hands of its adverſaries, is very little ſcrupulous as to the uſe of it in its own. The Whigs, when in power, are the partizans of prerogative; the Tories, when out, the zealous advocates of freedom.

had been generally unfavorable to Atterbury, he ſaid, "He could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore to the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome ſavage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities, of any illuſtrous enemy whom they had killed in battle." This oppoſition did not hinder the bill from paſſing. The biſhop retired to France, where he found repoſe, eſteem, and all the advantages which ſociety offers to great and elevated minds [*m*]. The king granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, at the ſame time that he baniſhed Atterbury. Only one perſon [*n*] was executed on account of this conſpiracy. Would criminals of ſtate have eſcaped

[*m*] To alleviate, in ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of his ſentence, and that he might not be intirely cut off from the comforts of his children, and the converſation of his friends, the king permitted his daughter to attend him in his travels; and, through the hands of her huſband, Mr. Morrice, allowed him a correſpondence and intercourſe with his native country. STACKHOUSE.

[*n*] Layer.

puniſhment

puniſhment under ſo ſevere and inflexible a monarch [o]?

A. D. 1725. Trial of lord chancellor Macclesfield.

The rigor of the laws could not be better employed than in puniſhing thoſe who abuſed the authority of the laws themſelves. Such was the earl of Macclesfield, whoſe venal practices excited the murmurs of the nation. Loaded with the public hatred, he voluntarily reſigned the ſeals. But this ſtep did not protect him. He was impeached, for having wronged the widow and the orphan, ſold places in chancery at an exorbitant price, and ſuffered his officers to retain in their hands large ſums belonging to the ſuitors, to enable theſe officers to gratify his own rapacity. Convicted of fraudulent practices, he was condemned to pay a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, and to remain in priſon till it was paid. If corruption enters the hearts of the firſt magiſtrates, what ravage muſt it not make in the body of the nation! The example of ſevere juſtice becomes then neceſſary. Unhappily it is more

[o] This reflexion is unworthy the general candor of our author.

rare

rare in proportion as vice is more general. The king prorogued the parliament, after having expreſſed his ſatisfaction and gratitude in a very gracious ſpeech. The liberal ſupplies he had drawn from them, without any apparent neceſſity, merited theſe ſentiments. The commons were now as laviſh as they had formerly been ſparing and œconomical. The nation was leſs burthened with taxes at the time they complained ſo loudly of deſpotiſm. George having, as elector of Hanover, intereſts foreign to thoſe of his kingdom, his great policy conſiſted in ſupporting them at the expence of England [p].

He made this ſoon appear, in new negotiations, relative to the affairs of the continent. The emperor, who felt the want of money, and the neceſſity of commerce, had eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, an Eaſt-India company, which was an object of jealouſy to the maritime powers. To ſupport this eſtabliſhment, and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the king of England, to

The emperor's treaty with Spain.

Alliances of the king.

[p] It were to be wiſhed, the affair of Bremen and Verden had not furniſhed a pretence for Monſ. Milot's aſſertions.

whom he had not given the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden, he put an end to his diſputes with Spain. The treaty was ſigned at Vienna, by the duke of Riperda, a Dutchman, who, to raiſe his fortune, had given up his country and religion, and was become prime miniſter to Philip the fifth. The two ſovereigns renounced all pretenſions on the dominions of each other: Philip granted to the ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria, the ſame advantages in commerce as to other foreign merchants; he guarantied the Oſtend company, and promiſed an annual ſubſidy of four millions of piaſtres to the emperor. Ruſſia entered into this alliance. George was alarmed for his German dominions; he concluded at Hanover a defenſive alliance with France and Pruſſia, and returned immediately to England.

A. D. 1726. To make the Engliſh approve this treaty, which could only intereſt them very remotely, he had the addreſs to inſert in it ſome articles reſpecting commerce and the Proteſtant religion. The miniſters ſpread reports calculated to inflame the people; they gave out,

out, the Imperialiſts were to join the Spaniards, in order to conquer Gibraltar and Port Mahon; and made excellent uſes of thoſe ſounding words, ſince ſo often repeated, *Machinations of Diſaffected Perſons, Plots of a Popiſh Pretender, Proteſtant Intereſt, Balance of Power, Liberty and Security of the Kingdom:* words reſembling, ſays an Engliſh hiſtorian, cabaliſtic ſounds, which have faſcinated the nation to the degree of making her ſacrifice her own intereſts to the affairs of the continent. In vain did a member of the houſe of commons [q] repreſent, that this treaty appeared contrary to the act of limitation, which abſolutely forbids any war for the defence of the dominions the king might poſſeſs in Germany. This plauſible argument could not over-rule the aſcendant of the court. The two houſes approved the treaty; and promiſed the king to ſupport him, if his dominions ſhould be attacked. An extraordinary ſupply was the pledge of the parliament's ſubmiſſion.

Three Engliſh ſquadrons [r] put to ſea; one to block up the ports of War reſolved on.

[q] Mr. Shippen.

[r] The firſt under the command of Sir

Ruſſia, another to cruiſe on the coaſt of Spain, and the third to attack the Spaniſh galleons in the Weſt-Indies. This laſt expedition did not ſucceed. The court of Madrid, exaſperated by hoſtilities in a time of peace, prepared for war. The king aſſembled the parliament, and with great art expatiated on the ſubjects moſt likely to make an impreſſion; ſpoke of the deſigns of the pretender, the intereſts of commerce, and the dangers which threatened the Proteſtant religion; and declared, that they muſt either give up Gibraltar and Port Mahon to Spain, and acquieſce in the eſtabliſhment of the Oſtend company, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend their undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engagements contracted in order to annihilate them. The commons entered into all his views, and voted him forty-ſix thouſand men, with a land tax of four ſhillings in the pound. He found leſs compliance in the upper houſe. A violent debate made him at firſt apprehend a ſtrong op-

Oppoſition in the houſe of lords.

Charles Wager; the ſecond of Sir John Jennings; and the third of admiral Hoſier.

poſition.

poſition. Lord Bathurſt, after having pointed out the inconveniences of the war, obſerved, that in ſome papers laid before the houſe, mention was made of great ſums diſtributed in divers places, to bring certain meaſures to bear. He declared, "that, for his own part, he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman; and ſo long as he had the honor to ſit in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country." The majority, notwithſtanding, reſolved, that the meaſures his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honorable, juſt, and neceſſary. A proteſt of ſeventeen lords proved only, that there were ſtill minds ſufficiently courageous, to reſiſt with firmneſs, meaſures which they could not approve.

Remonſtrance of the imperial miniſter.

The king's ſpeech drew on him a kind of public challenge to prove the truth of his aſſertions. The count de Palms, the emperor's miniſter at London, had orders to publiſh a remonſtrance, in which George was accuſed of having advanced as certain, ſeveral facts that were either wreſted,

misrepreſented, or void of all foundation: he declared, the article relating to the pretender was an abſolute falſehood; that there was no offenſive alliance between the emperor and Spain; and that the treaty of Vienna in no reſpect interfered with the legal rights of the crown of England; and finally, he demanded, in the name of his imperial majeſty, ſuitable reparation for the injury his honor had ſuſtained from ſuch calumnious imputations. The parliament, in an addreſs, expreſſed their indignation at this inſolent memorial, and Palms was ordered to leave the kingdom. Virulent declarations were preſented, by the miniſters of the two monarchs, to the diet of the empire; and ſuch perſonal reflections retorted between them, as plainly foretold the approach of a violent and obſtinate war. King George contracted new engagements with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. He procured allies in Germany, but at an immenſe expence to England.

After having obtained all he aſked of parliament, there remained only to be entruſted with the application of the

the ſupplies; a point on which the parliament had ever ſhewed an extreme caution. The ſecretary to the treaſury [s] moved in the houſe of commons, "that they ſhould inſert a clauſe in the malt bill, impowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements contracted, or to be contracted, before the end of the year." This propoſal was of a nature to inflame the minds of thoſe in oppoſition: they did not fail to obſerve, "that the wiſdom of parliament had always taken precautions againſt the miſapplication of the public money: that ſuch an unlimited, and conſequently dangerous, power, ought never to be given in a free government: that the conſtitution could not be preſerved, but by a ſtrict adherence to theſe eſſential parliamentary forms, of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating thoſe ſupplies to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed and judged neceſſary: in ſhort, that if they departed from eſtabliſhed maxims and uſages, and ſuch examples became frequent, the crown and the miniſters

[s] Scroope.

would acquire an abſolute power to raiſe taxes, and the Engliſh conſtitution would be ſoon annihilated. This affair ended as all others had done in this reign. The oppoſition was too weak to counter-balance the court party, and the bill paſſed both houſes.

Siege of Gibraltar.

The Spaniards now formed the ſiege of Gibraltar. But their meaſures were too ill concerted, and the place too well defended, for them to ſucceed. The belligerant powers wanted, notwithſtanding the warmth of their reſentment, that paſſion for war which prolongs the calamities of the human race. France employed her mediation, and ſucceeded in reſtoring tranquillity to Europe. They agreed on the preliminary articles, which imported, "that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the charter of the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould be opened, in four months, in which all differences ſhould be adjuſted [t]. The king, after having

Preliminaries of peace.

[t] The congreſs was to have been held at Aix-la-Chapelle; but was transferred to Soiſſons, for the conveniency of the French miniſter.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed a regency, embarked, and took the road to Hanover. He was attacked on the road with a malady, of which he died at Oſnaburg, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. George the firſt had great qualities, much genius, diſcernment, and political knowledge, with a happy talent for negotiation: he was an enemy to pageantry, and grave in his deportment, though he has been reproached with having given the poſt of maſter of the horſe to his miſtreſs. The reputation of wiſdom, which he enjoyed before he came to the throne, was ſullied in the eyes of the Engliſh, by an adminiſtration little conformable to their principles, and the intereſt of the nation. The advice of his miniſters led him perhaps beyond the bounds of thoſe prudent meaſures he would of himſelf have purſued: it is beſides ſo very natural for princes to wiſh to extend their power! Whilſt he became maſter of the parliament, he loſt the affections of his people, the greateſt treaſure a ſovereign can poſſeſs. Living on bad terms with his only ſon and ſucceſſor, George the

Death of George the firſt.

ſecond, he gave him no ſhare in the government [*u*]. The ſon has ſhewed himſelf more worthy of the crown than the father. The hiſtory of his reign muſt be reſerved for a period when truth will be more eaſy to develop.

[*u*] George the firſt married the princeſs Sophia Dorothea, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, by whom he had the late king George the ſecond, and the late queen of Pruſſia, mother to the reigning king.

George the firſt was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs; grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar, and facetious, in his hours of relaxation. Before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumſpect general, a juſt and merciful prince, and a virtuous politician, who perfectly underſtood, and ſteadily purſued, his true intereſt. SMOLLET.

His natural inclination to juſtice led him to rule his German ſubjects in the ſame manner that our conſtitution directed him to govern the Engliſh. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his known goodneſs. His martial virtues were no leſs conſpicuous than his civil, though for the good of his ſubjects he ſtudied to decline all occaſions of military glory. TINDAL.

George the firſt ſeems to have wanted nothing to make him one of the beſt princes that ever filled a throne, but a thorough knowledge of the people he was called to govern.

We

We will conclude this work with a few obſervations on the government, manners, and literature, of England; objects more intereſting to the majority of readers, than ſieges, battles, and political treaties, the minute details of which fatigue the memory, without exerciſing the underſtanding.

After the expulſion of the Stuarts, the royal prerogative was contracted within narrower bounds, the acts of arbitrary power were leſs common, civil liberty was better ſecured, but the ſovereign was ſcarce leſs powerful. He had always in his hands thoſe reſources which work upon the paſſions. Having places and honors in his diſpoſal, he could biaſs that multitude of ambitious or venal ſouls who worſhip fortune. A contagious corruption, produced by wealth and intrigue, infected, from the time of William the third, this haughty nation, ſo jealous of its liberty. Two irreconcileable parties employed againſt each other the fatal art of ſeducing citizens, and purchaſing ſuffrages. In order to have a majority in parliament, they were not aſhamed of endeavoring to eradicate the princi-

ples of patriotiſm; and the court took care to profit by an evil which favored its deſigns. It ſucceeded in filling the lower houſe with its partizans, in influencing their debates, and drawing from thence enormous ſubſidies, more for its own intereſt than the neceſſities of the ſtate. The act of triennial parliaments furniſhed the patriots with a reſource. They had hopes of ſoon gaining a ſuperiority. But ſince the duration of parliament was fixed at ſeven years, under George the firſt, the nation ſeems expoſed to the attacks of deſpotiſm. In 1734, ſome vain attempts were made to reſtore things to their ancient ſtate. Sir William Windham, after having ſuppoſed, in a ſpeech equally admired for its eloquence, and ſtrength of reaſoning, a king incapable of governing, a firſt miniſter abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, and a venal parliament, under the influence of that miniſter; and after having painted the dreadful conſequences of this ſuppoſition, "I hope," ſaid he, "ſuch a caſe will never occur; but, as it poſſibly may, could any greater curſe happen to a nation, than ſuch a prince

on

on the throne, adviſed, and ſolely adviſed, by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported by ſuch a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the exiſtence of ſuch a prince, or ſuch a miniſter, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the exiſtence of ſuch a parliament I think we may prevent: as it is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more miſchief, while the ſeptennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed; therefore I am heartily for its being repealed."

There have been always in England thoſe men, vigilant, zealous, incorruptible, who have their country before their eyes, who ſtruggle againſt the torrent of foreign intereſts, and ſpeak like citizens in the midſt of the moſt corrupt aſſembly. A government where ſuch men may freely ſpeak their thoughts, where they ſpeak them without fear, and without evaſion, has in itſelf a grand principle of life and vigor. But, ſince the crown has had a ſtanding army, ſince it has had intereſts which do not concern the nation, ſince it can depend on the votes of a long parliament, the balance of

thoſe powers which form the Engliſh conſtitution is become much more difficult to maintain. Any arbitrary and open attacks on liberty would raiſe a rebellion amongſt a people jealous and terrible in their fury. Corruption, by deſtroying national principles, may one day perhaps occaſion more evil than the violences of deſpotiſm.

Sentiment of Monteſquieu, in reſpect to the Engliſh government.

The picture of the Engliſh government in the Spirit of Laws (B. ii. Ch. 6. B. xix. Ch. 27.) is admirable. The ſublime genius which has drawn it, diſplays all the advantages of this political inſtitution, and repreſents it as the maſter-piece of human legiſlation: the animoſity of parties, the very exceſſes of every kind, furniſh him with a proof of the internal ſtrength of the ſtate. "All the paſſions," ſays he, "hatred, envy, jealouſy, and the rage of all for enriching and diſtinguiſhing themſelves, being there free, appear in their full extent; and if it was otherwiſe, the ſtate would reſemble a man weakened by ſickneſs, who has no paſſions becauſe he has no ſtrength." Without examining whether the Engliſh actually enjoy their liberty or not, he ſhews that it is eſtabliſhed

bliſhed by their laws; and he ſeeks no further. "I do not pretend," adds he, "to depreciate other governments, or to ſay this extreme political liberty ought to mortify thoſe who poſſeſs only a moderate ſhare of it. How ſhould I ſay this, I who think that exceſs, even of right, is not always deſireable, and that men more eaſily accommodate themſelves to the medium than the extremes?" And in reality, if one reflects on the fermentation, the cabals, the diſcord, the diſturbances, the anxiety, the diſtruſt, the variety of ſtormy paſſions, which perpetually agitate the people of England, the Frenchman, tranquil under a mild government, protected by wiſe laws, attached as well by love as by duty to the perſon of his king, faithful without conſtraint, and obedient from a ſenſe of honor: the Frenchman, I ſay, even when the courſe of events draws from him ſome complaints, ought ſtill to felicitate himſelf, and be proud of his country [w].

[w] Monſ. Milot writes like a good Frenchman, and a philoſopher, who ſubmits without murmuring to that form of government which

The

Liberty of ſpeaking and of writing.

The power of ſpeaking and of writing our thoughts with freedom, within the limits of the law, is without doubt, as Monteſquieu obſerves, a neceſſary conſequence of liberty. This ought to be made the means of inſtructing and enlightening both the people, and thoſe by whom they are governed; of pointing out abuſes, and applying remedies; of maintaining the intereſt of their nation, and guarding it from dangers. But licentiouſneſs abuſes the moſt lawful rights. Amongſt the Engliſh, ſatire reſpects neither individuals, the miniſter, nor the government. Not content with diſtilling its poiſon in converſations, or in libels, it has often ſhed its venom with fury in the theatres. A farce [x] reflecting on the miniſtry, having been complained of in the houſe of commons, a bill was brought in, to ſubject dramatic writers to the inſpection

it is not in his power to change. An Engliſhman who ſhould think in the ſame manner, would be unworthy the bleſſings he enjoys.

[x] A manuſcript farce, called, The Golden Rump, full of treaſon and abuſe, was communicated to the miniſtry by one of the playhouſe managers, to whom it had been offered.

of

of the lord chamberlain, in ſuch a manner that no piece could be played without permiſſion. Lord Cheſterfield made on this occaſion a very remarkable ſpeech [*y*]. "Our ſtage," ſaid he, "ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpoſe, our laws as they ſtand at preſent, are ſufficient. If our ſtage players at any time exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted; they may be puniſhed. We have precedents, we have examples of perſons puniſhed for things leſs criminal than ſome pieces which have been lately repreſented: a new law muſt therefore be unneceſſary, and in the preſent caſe it cannot be unneceſſary without being dangerous. Every unneceſſary reſtraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle upon the hands, of liberty. One of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its allay. Licen-

[*y*] In this debate, the earl of Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all thoſe who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. SMOLLET.

tiouſneſs

tiouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excreſcence; it is a ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle — with a trembling, hand, leſt I deſtroy the body; leſt I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the ſtage become at any time licentious, if a play appear to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the law is ſufficient to puniſh the offender. If poets and players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained as other ſubjects are, by the known laws of their country; if they offend, let them be tried, as every Engliſhman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us ſubject them to the arbitrary will and pleaſure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man, to judge and determine, without limitation, control, or appeal, is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, inconſiſtent with our conſtitution. It is a higher, a more abſolute, power than we truſt even to the king himſelf; and therefore I muſt think, we ought not to veſt any ſuch power in his majeſty's lord chamberlain." His

eloquence

eloquence was admired, but did not prevent the playhouſe bill from paſſing into a law.

The king ſuppreſſed, in 1717, at the requeſt of the univerſity of Cambridge, the ridiculous cuſtom of burning in effigy, the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar. Such a cuſtom paints in ſtrong colors the character of the people, the vivacity of their averſions, and their contempt of decorum. Politeneſs has not yet ſoftened that fierceneſs of manners, which the Engliſh derive from their climate, from the form of their government, and from their ſituation in an iſland. Men accuſtomed to the ſea, inflamed by the ſpirit of faction, proud of liberty and riches, given up to party diſputes, wholly engroſſed by their intereſts, by their ſyſtems; ardent, fiery, leſs by ſudden ſallies than by principle, diſdain too much the art of pleaſing, not to paſs often the bounds of good-breeding. It frequently happens, that the nobles themſelves, intermixed with the people, partake of their paſſions, their violences, and exceſſes. Wealth levels rank; the great

great power of the commons elates the hearts of the vulgar. Every one thinking himſelf of conſequence, and fearing no man, the pride of all introduces a kind of equality between all: humor, whim, caprice, muſt neceſſarily prevail, in a nation where the generality of citizens are regardleſs of pleaſing any one. *The greater part, with genius, will be tormented by that genius itſelf*, according to the remark of Monteſquieu; *with a diſdain, or diſguſt for all things, they will be miſerable, with ſuch a variety of reaſons to be happy.* To this, doubtleſs, is owing the frenzy of ſuicide, of which there are ſuch frequent examples in England. An Engliſhman grows weary of life, and kills himſelf after the moſt cool deliberation. One Richard Smith and his wife hanged themſelves, in 1732, near each other, after having firſt killed their child in the cradle; and in a letter recommended their dog and cat to the kindneſs of their landlady. Another letter was found, wrote, not only with calmneſs, but with a degree of gaiety, in which they juſtified their reſolution, and the muder of their infant daughter.

ter. "They deprived her of life, they ſaid, to ſpare her the evils of it; they wiſhed to deliver themſelves, with her, from a ſtate of wretchedneſs into which they were fallen without reſource; and truſted in the goodneſs of the Supreme Being, who could not poſſibly delight in the miſery of his creation." The deſpair of theſe two unfortunate people is leſs ſtrange than that of a number of other Engliſh, who have given themſelves death in the boſom of abundance, from melancholy, or a diſguſt for life.

Courage and policy, agriculture and induſtry, commerce and navigation, have exalted the power of the Engliſh to the higheſt point which it can perhaps ever attain. The ſciences and polite literature have rendered their glory ſtill more durable. No people ſurpaſs them in learned diſquiſitions. Their mathematicians, their philoſophers, have opened an immenſe field to the human mind. It ſuffices to name Newton and Locke, geniuſes the more admirable, as they confined themſelves within the ſphere of nature to dive into her myſteries, inſtead of loſing themſelves in fantaſtic

Science, philoſophy.

taſtic ſyſtems in order to create new errors. Many philoſophers in England have wandered in the fallacious paths of impiety; a misfortune almoſt inevitable, when reaſon has no bridle to check its ſallies. But religion has found, amongſt the Engliſh, defenders without prejudices and without enthuſiaſm, no leſs forcible in their arguments, than reſpectable for the extent of their knowledge. The clergy, having loſt their ancient credit, apply themſelves to labors which procure them perſonal eſteem. They have very little influence in affairs; but they impreſs truth on the mind. Science conducts them to eccleſiaſtical dignities, and emulation nouriſhes talents which would be ſtifled under the empire of favor.

Theology.

In a country where the uſeful is preferred to the agreable, reſearches and experiments which relate to the wants of ſociety, principally engage the attention of the public. No one is ignorant how much the Engliſh have labored in this way, or with what ſucceſs. In bringing to perfection agriculture and navigation, they have ſecured to themſelves inexhauſtible re-

ſources. By the inoculation of the ſmall pox, they have preſerved ſome thouſands of citizens. It was tried on criminals in 1721, and ſince that time is become almoſt general. It is not for us to weigh the reaſons for or againſt this practice. But, in whatever point of view it is taken, the example of an enlightened nation is in things of this ſort the ſtrongeſt of all proofs; and, though an individual may fear inoculation, the public ought to deſire it.

Literature is become, in this age, one of the principal ornaments of England. The celebrated authors that ſhe has produced, are at preſent too well known to make it neceſſary to name them: new ideas, deep reflections, ſublime thoughts, a manly energic ſtyle, often rendered obſcure by a too great endeavor at preciſion, characterize almoſt all of them. Lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Shafteſbury, Addiſon the ſecretary of ſtate, &c. have been leſs diſtinguiſhed by their rank than by their works. "Pope," ſays Voltaire, "has mellowed the harſh notes of the Engliſh trumpet into the ſoft ſounds of the flute." A

ſublime

ſublime poet, an elegant philoſopher, the tranſlator and emulator of Homer, he is admirable when he riſes to ſubjects worthy of his genius; he ſinks below himſelf when he plunges into the mire of ſatire. The Engliſh have enriched their theatre with the ſpoils of that of France, which they affect to deſpiſe: but they have taught us to think more ſtrongly, to put fewer ſhackles on genius, to diffuſe uſeful truths even in frivolous writings, and to change romances themſelves into ſchools of morality. Let us do juſtice to their excellent writers; ours will not be leſs the delight of all Europe.

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THE END.